MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 41 } JULY-SEPT. 1961 { NO. 3

BANKIMCHANDRA ON CASTE

Some time about 1872, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote a note entitled 'Caste in Lower Bengal', evidently as his comment upon the view held on caste by the Inspector General of Registration who conducted the first census operation of 1872. This note was never published, but a small part of his note was incorporated in the census report of Bengal, 1872. The manuscript in Bankim Chandra's own handwriting lay unnoticed somewhere in Midnapur, where he was posted about that time as Deputy Magistrate. Eventually it reached the hands of Shri Sajani Kanta Das, formerly President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and a well-known writer of Bengal.

It is of great significance that Bankim Chandra, at that early date, recognized that the mutual relationship of castes to one another was the most important element of that organization. He was also of opinion that the system had growu by the absorption of various tribal communities into Aryanised society. It was his opinion again that, after absorption, the different communities who formed the caste system were assigned special occupations. The occupational aspect of caste was, thus, in his opinion a secondary feature.

As the note of Bankim Chandra is of special historical significance, it is being printed in its entirety, accompanied by a photographic reproduction of the first page of his manuscript—*Editor.*

Caste in Lower Bengal

THE most important point in connection with Hindu castes is the question of their mutual relation to each other. The fact that each caste has a calling of its own is of less importance—it is not the cause that led to division of the people into castes, but merely a consequence of that division.

Caste, at least in its first stage, was merely the consequence of ethnical differences. Many of the great Hindu castes of Bengal represent *each a great aboriginal race,* absorbed into Hinduism and transformed into a Hindu caste. The transformation is an easy process, and can even now be seen going on in some places. The Koch and Rajbansis are a recent example.

A proper study of the Hindu castes ought therefore to enable us to identify them with the ancient historical tribes whose representatives they now are. I shall confine these notes to this aspect of the question.

Such identification is possible in a large number of cases. The first illustration which I shall offer of such possibility will be the case of the Pundras, referred to by Mr. Beverley in the last para of section 455 of the census report of 1872, with regard to which my remarks seem to have been to a certain extent misunderstood.

What I then meant and now mean to say is, that the Pundras were a great historical Indian tribe, and that they have been absorbed into the Bengali population, and now form a part of it. First as to their history. They were known to the Aryan conquerors of India as a hostile race, as early as the *Aitareya Brahmana,* in which they are enumerated with the Andhras, Pulindas and other aborigines. We find them described also in the *Kishkindhya Kanda* of the Ramayana, from which they would appear to have been a Dravidian race inhabiting southern India. The tide of Aryan conquest pressed on them, as on other Dravidians, even in the Deccan ; and like other Dravidians they retired to the hills and plateaus of western Bengal (Sonthalia) pressing gradually eastwards under the pressure of other tribes. In the Mahabharata, we find the Pandavas passing across them into eastern Bengal. Hiouen-Thsang so late as the seventh century visited their capital Paundra Vardhana in western Bengal, possibly Pandua in Maldah. Wilson, in a note to his translation of the Vishnu Purana, thinks that the country of the Pundra included the following districts, "Rajshahi, Dinajpoor and Rungpoor, Nadiya, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, part of Midnapoor and Jungle Mahals, Ramgarh, Pachete, Palamow, and part of Chunar".

Now it is precisely in this locality that we still meet with Hindu castes bearing the same name as the old tribe ; the same name, of course, changed by transliteration and phonetic corruption in (strict ?) accordance to known rules which govern such changes of Sanskrit words imported into the vernacular. Sanskrit words ending in *ṇda* (ण्ड) change the *ṇda* ण्ड into ḍ (ड़) the nasal sound being transferred to the preceding vowel. Thus Bhāṇḍa (भाण्ड) changes into Bhāṅḍ (भाँड़), and Suṇḍa (शुण्ड) into Suṅḍ (शुँड़). Following exactly the same process, we may expect the Sanskrit Puṇḍra (पुण्ड्र) to become पुड़, for the r must drop after ḍ.

Now we find in western Bengal (Moorshidabad) a caste bearing this very name. In Mr. Beverley's Census Report the word is written Pura, but I have resided in the district for several years, and know that the name is Puṅḍa (पुँड़) not Pura (पुरा).

The same Sanskrit word may assume more than one form in the Bengali according to the source through which it is received, for it may be received direct from the Sanskrit, or through one of the Prakrits, or through a modern vernacular like the Hindi. Received direct from the Sanskrit, Chandra (the moon) becomes Chandar (चन्दर) in colloquial Bengali, received through the Hindi, it becomes Chāṅd (चाँद). Just as the Sanskrit Chandra becomes Chandar in colloquial Bengali, so Pundra becomes Pundar in colloquial Bengali. This is a second form which it may take according to known laws of phonetic change. Now, in many names derived from places etc. an *i* is added often quite unnecessarily, as Bengal-i, Santal-i. By the same process, we have from Mundra, first Mundar and then Mundari. This is another caste found inhabiting the same locality as the Pundar.

Lastly, just as Chandra in Sanskrit also changes into Chand in Bengali, Pundra in Sanskrit may change to Pod in Bengali, the *r* is dropped, and the penultimate vowel is broadened by 'Guna' (?). The only difference is in dropping the *n* in Pod, for special reasons.

Thus the Pund ( ) (Puras), Pods, and Pundaris bear the same name, only modernized as the great aboriginal

tribe inhabiting in ancient times the same locality as they do at present, and there ought to be no doubt of their identity. Pundarikaksha is only an euphemism for Pundari and Pod.

Another illustration is furnished by the Kaibartas, numerically one of the most important castes in Bengal. Amara Sinha gives 'Dasa' as one of the other names by which this caste is known. 'Dasa' is the name given in Menu to the race sprung from the Nishada and the Ayogavi. The Ayogavi was a cross between a Vaisya and a Sudra. The Nishada was an unmixed non-Aryan. The Kaibartas are thus a non-Aryan race, with some Aryan blood in their veins obtained through the mother's mother's side.

I can only make suggestions in regard to the origin of some (of ?) other obviously non-Aryan castes. The affinities of the *Doms* of Bengal, with a tribe of the same name in Santhalistan, as well with the Dumis of Nepal need some attention.

The connection of the Bengali Kauras with a large number of non-Aryan tribes of nearly the same name, viz. Korewa, Kharwar, Kharia, Kaur, Kirati, etc. may also be suggested. The Hindu Mals and Malos in spite of the difference in their present pursuits (are ?) offshoots of the same race—the aboriginal Mals and Mal Paharias, the Malii of Pliny. And so on.

When thus there are castes which are the direct repesentatives of pure aborigines absorbed into Hinduism, there are on the other hand mixed races, born of inter-mixture between Aryans and non-Aryans, a class of whom, the Chandal is a well-known example. Lastly, there are pure Aryans, like the Brahmans, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, etc. Any classification of Hindu castes in the Census report which may be accepted (?) in the Census report ought to be based upon this distinction of (1) Aryan, (2) non-Aryan and (3) mixed castes. The division adopted by Mr. Beverley into (1) Aboriginal tribes, (2) Semi-Hinduized aborigines, and (3) Aryans was unscientific. As a scientific classification of caste on an ethnical basis is the very first step towards a proper understanding of castes, and as an unscientific classification in an official paper like the Census report would be misleading, I have drawn up this note mainly

3. Caste in Lower Bengal.

The most important point in connection with Hindu caste is the question of their Structural relations towards each other. The fact that each caste has a calling of its own is of less importance - than the cause that led to the division of the castes into castes, but a consequence of that division. The origin of caste was at least in its first stage, due to the consequence of structural differences. Both some exceptions the great Hindu castes of Bengal represent each a great aboriginal race absorbed into Hinduism and transformed into a Hindu caste. The transformation is but very imperfect - and can scarcely now be seen going on in some places. The Kaibarta and Rajbansis are a recent example

with a view to suggest its rectification. The corrected classification should stand thus :

I. Aboriginal tribes
II. Hindu castes
  (1) Aryan
  (2) Mixed castes
  (3) Non-Aryan.

APPENDIX

The Pods, who are so numerous in the 24-Pergunnahs, Baboo Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee identifies with the Pauras or Puras of Moorshedabad. "Both Pods and Pauras," he writes. "exhibit in physical appearance a marked approach to the Turanian and aboriginal type. A Pod, when inclined to use fine language, calls himself a Pundari-kaksha, which is a compound Sanskrit word meaning lotus-eyed,—a name which is also used to designate Vishnu. As applied to the Pods, it is simply meaningless. I am inclined to derive the name and the caste from the Paundras. The Paundras were an ancient people inhabiting Lower Bengal from Monghyr to Jessore in the age of the Mahabharat. The Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang mentions Paundra Vardhana, evidently the capital of this region. General Cunnigham identifies it with Pubna, though there are perhaps better reasons for identifying it with Pandua in Maldah. In the Mahabharat this people is classed with wild and aboriginal races, such as Saka, Darada, Barbara, &c. Undoubtedly the tide of Aryan immigration had not flowed largely into Bengal at so remote a period as the compilation of the Mahabharat, and the Paundras were therefore as certainly an aboriginal people. I believe both the Pods and the Pauras to be remnants of this ancient people." As I have already remarked, there seems to be considerable doubt as to what the Pundaris really are, and further inquiry seems necessary to establish their relationship to the Pods.

Report on the Census of Bengal 1872 by Beverley, Inspector General of Registration, Bengal. Calcutta : Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1872.

LAND-USE SURVEY IN A JUANG VILLAGE

SARADINDU BOSE

(Received on 1 July 1961)

Introduction

THE Juangs are distributed in the two districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal in Orissa, but the area of concentration is in Keonjhar. Keonjhar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts, the north-eastern plain land and the south-western hilly tract. The hill summits appear from the plain as sharp peaks ; but in reality the general feature of the hill tops is like flat tablelands, the characteristic of the basalt topography of the region. The elevation of the hills is generally 2800 ft. ; hills at lower levels assume sharpness in their outlines and peaks due to uncovering of the rocky layers at places. The flat tablelands are fit for pasture and tillage.

Hill ranges and dense jungles form the boundary between Keonjhar and the neighouring district of Dhenkanal. This range acts as the watershed of the river Baitarani in the north and the Brahmani in the south.

'The Juang p i r h (country) of Keonjhar is a triangular piece of country with Keonjhar Garh at its apex, Kuanr and Basantapur at the two ends of its base.' The Juang pirh is again subdivided into smaller units, namely, Satkhande Pirh, Jharkhande Pirh, Kathua Pirh etc. In the centre of the tract lies Gonasika, a village which is at the source of the river Baitarani and a pilgrim centre of Orissa. It is regarded as the headquarters of the Satkhande Pirh. This pirh is composed of seven villages, namely, Gonasika, Kadalibari, Raidiha, Baitarani, Jantari, Barura and Sinkrapada. All the villages are inhabited exclusively by the Juang except Sinkrapada, which is a Bhuiya village.

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The work was conducted under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey, and the present report is published with the permission of the Director.

Classification of Villages

An extensive preliminary examination of these three Juang pirhs gives us an idea about Juang villages in general, and an attempt has been made to classify them according to their economic condition, which in turn is dependent upon the land-use prevalent in the villages. The three-fold division of rich, well-to-do and poor, may be justified in describing the economic condition of the different villages.

(1) 'Rich' villages are those which produce sufficient food for the consumption of the villagers all the year round and provide scope for employing hired labour in their fields and sometimes leisure to the villagers for taking drinks even in the day-time. Villages like Raidiha, Jantari, Dumria, etc. fall within this group. These villages have more level and terraced land under permanent cultivation. Now-a-days there is a tendency of changing land for shifting cultivation into permanent cultivated land. The rich condition of the village is naturally related to permanent cultivation.

(2) 'Well-to-do' villages are those which are more or less self-sufficient in food. These villages have level and terraced fields under permanent cultivation and hilly slopes under the jhum form of cultivation. They depend equally on both of these types of land. Gonasika, Barura, Baitarani No. 2 may be grouped under this head. There are some villages such as Bally which possess little or no plain or terraced fields under permanent agriculture, yet produce sufficient food from jhum lands on account of their relative abundance of good soil.

(3) 'Poor' villages are deficient in food. Villagers supplement their economy by working in rich villages as hired labourers and by collecting root crops from the jungles. Kadalibari, Baitarani No. 1, Phulbadi, Burhigara, etc. come under this group.

Present Agricultural Practices in Kadalibari

Two types of cultivation are practised, namely, (1) jhum or shifting cultivation and (2) permanent cultivation.

(1) *Shifting or jhum cultivation*—The method is to cultivate the hill slopes after cutting and burning the forest which

grows sufficiently when left fallow for a period of 12 years. Previously, when there was not much pressure of population, the cycle of regeneration of forests is reported to have been of the order of 22 years. It is sure that if the present rate of extension of land is maintained, the time allowed for regeneration will become progressively reduced.

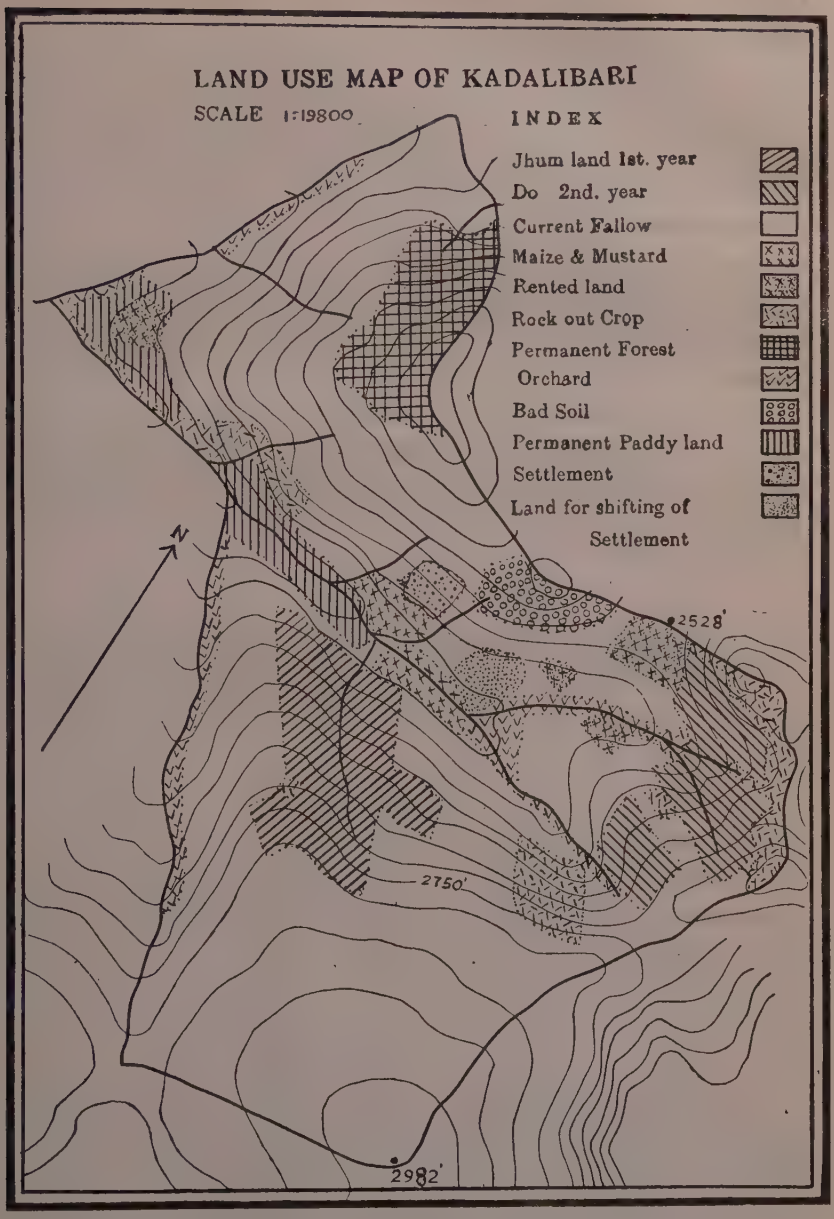
Jungles are cut in the month of Chaitra, trees are burnt in the month of Vaisakh and sowing is in the month of Asarh. R ā s s i or t i l (sesamum), the cash crop of these people, is cultivated in the first year in the t a i l a or jhum land. Harvesting is done in the month of Paus. Some pulses are also grown as subsidiary crops.

In the second year the same field is re-cultivated for paddy. Before tilling the field, the seedlings and weeds which have grown in the meanwhile are heaped up in places and set on fire. The ash adds to the fertility of the soil. This job is done by women but tilling is done by men with the help of either the plough or the g a r a n d a or hand digger. Seeds are sown in late Vaisakh and crops are harvested in the month of Aswin. A m a c h a n or small shelter is generally built on a raised platform in the paddy field and men reside there for a couple of months to guard the crops against wild animals such as deer, boar or elephants. It is said in some villages that occasionally ¾th of the crops is consumed by animals and insects.

M a n d i a and g o n g o i, two millets similar to j o w a r and b a j r a, are cultivated along with the paddy in the border of the fields. The hard and thick stems of these plants form a barrier against wild animals. The usual practice here is to cultivate two plots of land each year. Of these, one is prepared freshly after cutting the jungles and is usually devoted to the cultivation of sesamum, whereas the other which has already been brought under cultivation in the previous year, is devoted to the cultivation of paddy.

(2) *Permanent cultivation* is practised in the (a) sorrounding plots of the house sites and (b) by the side of streams.

(a) Surrounding plots of the village site : Two crops, maize and mustard, are cultivated in rotation in a year on the


LAND USE MAP OF KADALIBARI
SCALE 1:19800
INDEX
Jhum land 1st. year
Do 2nd. year
Current Fallow
Maize & Mustard
Rented land
Rock out Crop
Permanent Forest
Orchard
Bad Soil
Permanent Paddy land
Settlement
Land for shifting of Settlement
N
2528'
2750'
2982'

same land. Maize is harvested in the month of Bhadra and mustard in the month of Paus.

(b) By the side of the streams : G u r a and b e l a w paddy (almost similar to a m a n paddy) are grown. Seeds are sown in Asarh and crops are harvested in Paus. This paddy field enjoys irrigation facilities from the streams.

Land-use in Kadalibari

In this hilly tract of Keonjhar the acreage under shifting cultivation is greater than that under permanent cultivation. This is specially true of the poor villages of this region. The economic structure dependent on jhum cultivation can be followed if a poor village in Juang pirh is studied. With this object, Kadalibari, a typical poor village, was selected. The following table presents the land-use pattern of Kadalibari village.

TABLE 1

Type of land	Area on the map in sq. inch	Area on the map corrected for slope of the land in sq. in.	Actual area in acres
Jhum land 1st year	1.17	1.2285	49.14
Jhum land 2nd year	.98	1.0290	41.16
Current fallow	9.41	9.8810	395.26
Bad soil (fallow)	.32	.3360	13.44
Rocky waste	.81	.8500	34.00
Permanent forest	.80	.8400	33.60
Orchard	.66	.6930	27.72
Settlement area	.15	.1575	6.28
Water features	.85	.8925	35.70
Shifting settlement area	.18	.1890	7.56
Maize and mustard*	.72	.7560	30.24
Permanent paddy field	.75	.7875	31.50
Total of Kadalibari	16.8	17.6400	705.60

*Out of 30.24 acres of land for maize and mustard, 14.74 acres are rented to Gauras (MILKMEN) and the rest, that is, 15.5 acres only are utilized by the Juangs.

Figures in the second column have been obtained from the 1″ = 1320 ft. scale map. The addition of some area in the third column is due to the correction applied for slope of land. Slope analysis of the prepared map shows that the average slope of the land is about 18°, though there are certain variations within this region. Naturally, the actual area of the land is greater than the area calculated from the map. In finding the actual area, the calculated area from the map was increased by an amount depending upon the degree of the slope. For this purpose, an assumption was made that the slope is in one direction only and not in both. This indicates an increase in length in one direction only while calculating the actual area of the plots. As an example, an area one sq. in. in the map actually comes to be equal to 1″ × 1·05″ (increased length of the side due to the slope) = 1·05 sq. in. and not equal to $(1{\cdot}05)^2$ sq. in.

The calculation of the actual area is very simple. It can be represented by the formula – Actual area on the map × secant of the slope of the land.

Thus if the area on the map be 50 acres and slope of the land is 60° then the actual area will be

$$50 \times \sec 60^\circ = 50 \times 2 = 100 \text{ acres.}$$

Population

TABLE 2

Age group	Male	Female	Eunuch	
Persons upto 5	6	10	—	
6 to 50	29	34	1	
Over 50	6	3	—	
Total	41	47	1	=89

[There are also 7 families of MILKMEN who are considered as the tenants of the Juang people. These families have agricultural land in their home villages. Here they came for pasturing their cows and buffaloes. So they do not depend on the land of Kadalibari. That is why these 7 families have been neglected in the calculation of the carrying capacity of land. Only they have got hold of some land for settlement and for producing small quantities of maize and mustard. As this land is not related with the economy of the Juangs, this has been treated as fallow land. The Juangs pay the tax from the rent they receive from these MILKMEN.]

In calculating consuming units, persons over 5 years of age have been considered as one unit and under 5 years as half unit. It is noticed that a child of 5 years generally consumes food more than a grown-up man, for in hungry Juang land first preference is given to growing children, while the rest tighten their belts. The total consuming units of population in Kadalibari village comes to 81. Among these, 11 units of population are exclusively dependent on hired labour, whereas the rest are dependent partly on land and partly on hired labour. Naturally, for the calculation of land carrying capacity (to be dealt with later) 70 units of population have been taken in place of the total of 89 in table 2.

Economic Structure

Kadalibari is one of the poorest villages in Juang pirh. On an average, people take rice for 4 months in the year. The paddy is obtained partly from the field and partly by barter. One measure of sesamum is bartered for $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy, and 1 of mustard for $3\frac{1}{4}$ of paddy. Of these total 4 months of provisions of paddy, $2\frac{1}{2}$ months comes from the current jhum land partly as field crop and partly by exchange of sesamum with paddy. The remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ months' food comes from the permanent paddy field. In addition to paddy, the jhum land also produces two varieties of millets which provide them with food for another month ; thus the current jhum land in all offers provision for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ months.

Kadalibari also has some orchards of jack-fruits and mangoes. Here, the kernel of mango seeds is used for making a kind of bread. These orchards provide them with food for 1 month.

Maize and mustard also solve another half month's problem ; food for another 3 months is collected from the jungles. These are wild tubers like t h u n g a, b a i n g a etc.

Thus the land gives them food for $9\frac{1}{2}$ months. During the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ months, the villagers supplement their income by working in the 'rich' villages as hired labourers

The above facts may be summarized as follows :—

TABLE 3

Type of land	Provision of food in months	Area in acres
Jhum land	3½	90.30
Permanent paddy land	1½	31.5
Maize and mustard fields	½	15.5
Collecting	3	293.0
Orchard	1	27.2

It may be noted in this connection that even during these 9½ months they are not fully fed. The quantity of food consumed is too meagre. Fasting is a regular practice among them. Even on a happy day a family of 3 persons consumes 1 māṇa of rice (equivalent to 1½ pounds) and 1 pound of root crop like thunga or bainga.

The small extent of clothing which the Juang use, is obtained from merchants in exchange of roots of some medicinal plants which are found in the jungles, and also by the sale of mats from palm leaves which are taken to weekly markets.

Estimate of Land Carrying Capacity

For any single type of land the area of land required per head of population is $C \times L$ when C = the cultivation factor and L = the mean acreage in cultivation at any one time per head of population. 'Cultivation factor is merely an expression of the number of "garden areas" required for each type to allow of the complete cycle of cultivation and regeneration normally practised on that type under the system to which the calculation applies.'*

To revert to the simple example given above, if the cultivation factor is 12, if 2 acres of land are normally maintained in

* Allan, William : *Studies in African land usage in Northern Rhodesia*, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 14.

cultivation per head of population then 24 acres are required for each individual.

TABLE 4

Type of land	Total area	Years of cultivation (A) and rest (B) (A) (B)	C	L	Area required per unit	Carrying capacity of such area in this village
Available jhum land	485.56					
Present jhum land	90.30	2–12	7	4.4*	30.8	15.8
Orchard	27.2	Permanent	1	4.7*	4.7	5.8
Maize and mustard	15.5	,,	1	5.3*	5.3	2.9
Permanent paddy	31.5	,,	1	3.3*	3.3	9.5
Collecting	293.0	,,	1	16.7*	16.7	17.5

Total carrying capacity of Kadalibari = 51.5

The total jhum land supplies food in two ways—(1) as field crop and (2) as root crop from the jungle regenerated in the jhum land. The calculation of about 259·4 acres of jhum land under forest is made separately under both of these two heads. It has been pointed out that after a field has been used for jhum for two years in succession, it is allowed to lie fallow for 12 years. Out of these twelve, again, for the first 3 years nothing is collected. For the last 9 years 'collection' of roots and fruits is made from it before it is once more turned over to jhum. Naturally 259·4 acres are to subtracted from the total area of column II of table 4 to give the correct area of the village.

Table 4 indicates that the land available in Kadalibari can support only 51·5 persons while there are already present 89 persons in all. Consequently there is social disbalance, as a result of which 22 persons have left the village in the past

* This is the amount of land in acres which would be needed by one person if he was to depend only on this kind of production for twelve months in the year.

two years and all the people seem to be in debt and half fed. An account of the situation is given below.

(1) Instead of depending on the their own land, people work in 'rich' villages as hired labourers.

(2) People of this village have migrated to some richer villages. A migration of 22 persons has taken place to the following nearby villages, namely, Raidiha, Brahmanpanga, Banspal, Nordam and Khajuribani within the last two years.

(3) Low rate of consumption of food.

(4) Many people are in debt. The following table gives an idea of the extent of indebtedness of the villagers :

TABLE 5

Name of the Creditor	Creditor's village	Quantity	Year	% of interest
		Pd – 12 Khandi		50% compound
Dhulobo	Bali	60 Rupees	1957	50% ,,
Landa Chasa	Hunda	80 Rupees	1958	50% ,,
Mausira	Gonasika	Pd – 18 Kh	1959	50% ,,
Kandora	Tank Joda	20 Rupees	1959	50% ,,
				Seed 50% ,,
Dhanu Juang	Raidiha	Pd – 15 Kh	1959	Pd. 25% ,,
		Pd – 1 Pauti		25 % ,,
Bikari Tili	Jungha	20 Rupees	1960	50 % ,,
		Pd – 3 Kh		50 % ,,
Misra Maro	Simaria	23 Rupees	1960	100 % ,,
Bairagi babu	Jantari	Pd – 15 Kh	1960	25 % ,,
Kasi Puria	Tantraposi	Pd – 12 Kh	1960	25 % ,,

Popular measurement of crops (in volume) in Juang area :—

N.B. 1 Khaṇḍi of Paddy = ½ md. 2 Māṇa = 1 Pai

1 Pāi ,, ,, = 1 seer 20 Pāi = 1 Khaṇḍi

1 Pāuṭi ,, ,, = 5 mds. 10 Khaṇḍi = 1 Pāuti

Problems

Kadalibari is thus facing several problems and unless proper measures are taken now, the problems will become more acute in the near future.

(1) The population of Kadalibari has already surpassed the critical population or carrying capacity of land available in the village under present methods of use. Naturally, migration to others village or the extension of area under cultivation or low rate of consumption of food or even debts, are measures taken in order to feed the increasing population. Extension of cultivated area means shortening of the regeneration cycle of forests, which in turn will bring about ultimate disaster under the present system of land usage.

On the other hand extension of crop land results in diminution of forest area, root crops and loss of soil fertility due to accentuated soil erosion.

(2) Due to shortage of food, people are forced to borrow in cash or in kind, such as paddy, at a high rate of compound interest, sometimes even over 50%. If a family takes a loan of 100 rupees, they have to pay Rs. 337.50 in the 3rd year, that is Rs. 100.00 as principal and Rs. 237.50 as interest for 3 years. Generally, it is not possible for the Juang to pay this big amount when they are under chronic scarcity. So, at the time of harvesting in every village of 'poor' status, it is seen that cash crops like sesamum or mustard are seized by the money-lenders for realizing their dues. Taking advantage of the helpless condition of the poor villagers, they always make an extra profit by fixing abnormally low prices for the crop. They also profit by using defective and deceptive weights and measures.

(3) Destruction of crops by wild animals and insects is also a critical problem. A large percentage is lost to wild animals and insects. Reports have been obtained that there are villages where 75% of the crop is thus destroyed. Of these, the elephant is the most destructive.

(4) The whole Juang pirh is unevenly taxed, as the area has not been properly surveyed and village boundaries are not

properly demarcated. In comparison with other villages, the taxation over Kadalibari seems to be unusually high. The difference can be realized from an example. Kadalibari is said to pay a tax of Rs 68.00 per annum, whereas Raidiha with almost double the area and population of Kadalibari pays Rs 47.00 per annum only.

Conclusion

The total carrying capacity of Kadalibari village with its present mode of production is 51.5 units of persons. The total unit of population now dependent on land is 70. It does not mean that only 18.5 persons are in excess. The rate of food consumption is also too low and uneven throughout the year. One pound of rice and 1 pound of root crop is usually consumed by a family of three persons on a happy day. This naturally indicates that people are in half starvation.

If we standardize the consumption rate to normal figure (say only two full meals a day per unit) the figure of land carrying capacity will be further decreased and it may become as low as 30 or 35.

We have some gaps in our information. For a more accurate determination of carrying capacity based on a normal rate of consumption, certain corrections should be made. Firstly, it is necessary to have a quantitative measurement of field produce and thus avoid the discrepancy which may arise out of any mis-statement of the villagers regarding field production. Secondly, for the ascertainment of normal rate of food consumption, it will be wise to determine the consumption rate for different classes of villages. Naturally, our future observation during the harvesting season will be directed along these lines.

WAS THERE A SHORTAGE OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA?

JATINDRA MOHAN DUTTA

(*Received on 27 June 1961*)

[This is a preliminary essay on a great and intriguing subject. The subject requires careful analysis of such demographic data as are available, province by province, to eliminate the effects of climate and possibly of diet; caste by caste, to eliminate or to reduce the effect of racial differences, if any. We confess we have not been able to do so. Our ignorance of Sanskrit also prevents us from an intimate acquaintance with the Smriti literature.

The subject requires further investigation, which we are unable to undertake on account of physical infirmity. We shall remain thankful if some one either refutes or confirms our conclusion. —J. M. D.]

THE prevailing view is that the Aryans came into India from outside, and that they were not local people. Vincent Smith says, 'It is certain that they slowly worked their way across the Punjab and down the courses of the Indus and Ganges. Probably they advanced as far as Prayag (Allahabad) at a tolerably early date, but Bihar and Bengal long continued to be reckoned as non-Aryan countries. The peninsula was not affected at all by the early Indo-Aryan movements. *** The amount of Aryan blood in the people to the south of the Narbada is extremely small, in fact, negligible.

'The Indo-Aryan movement must have continued for a long time. The guesses of some of the best European scholars place it somewhere between 2400 and 1500 B.C., but they are only guesses, and no near approach to accuracy is possible. Perhaps 2000 B.C. may be taken as a mean data.' (*Oxford History of India*, 8.)

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2. There is no evidence that there was either an excess or shortage of women among the Aryan invaders. 'The frequent mention of unmarried girls like Ghoshā, who grew up in the houses of their parents, the references to the ornaments worn by maidens at festive occasions in order to win lovers, to a youth's courtship of the maiden he loves, to the lover's gifts, to their mutual love and to the spell by which a lover hopes to lull the whole household to sleep while he visits his beloved [in the Rig-Veda]—all this evidence speaks in favour of the custom of girls normally marrying long after they had attained puberty (*History and Culture of the Indian People—Vedic Age*, I, 388-89).

'The re-marriage of a widow was allowed, as seen from the *Atharvaveda* IX. 5, 27, 28. Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* mentions the ten wives of Manu. *** *** The *Atharvaveda* (XVIII. 3, 1) merely refers to the ancient practice of *satī* (widow-burning) and the *Rigveda* does not countenance it. So it appears that this custom was not very prevalent during the Vedic age. The Vedic texts also tacitly admit the non-existence of the custom, by discussing the question of widow re-marriage, which is permitted by some texts and prohibited by others' (*Ibid.* 453-4).

3. 'Manusmriti or Institutes of Manu is by common tradition entitled to precedence among all the Smritis. The other Smritikars themselves subscribe to this view. The ancient law existed before writing was invented and human memory had to be its sole repository. It was not static but a growing system and was handed down for centuries from preceptor to disciple in succession. In course of time came the Gathas and Sutras of the *Brahmana* period. And after that came the *Dharmasutras*. All these were supplementing, altering and gradually moulding the ancient traditional law into system. This evolution was going on for many centuries and so also was going on the process of lawmaking with a body of customs taking shape and receiving recognition from time to time and itself forming a constituent part of traditional law. The rules of law attributed to Manu the first Patriarch were bound to come up continuously

for consideration and application and the exponent or interpreter of law had to take account of the law at the time extant and also attach adequate importance to growing usages and customs. The accretions were naturally accepted as part of the same law and having the same obligatory force as the original rules. The fixation of these rules was obtained when the Code itself was compiled and bore the name of Manu, the original exponent of law. The Code is not in the language of Vedic times and it is obvious that it was reduced to writing at a later period. The date of this compilation in its extant form can now fairly reliably be fixed at about 200 B.C.

'The extant Code of Manu compiled in about 200 B.C. was obviously an answer to a long-felt desideratum because the legal literature of the Dharmasutra period had not produced any work which could meet the requirements of a compendium of law in all its branches. The unique position acquired by it as the leading Smriti and effectually of the most authoritative reservoir of law was due both to its traditional history and the systematic and cogent collection of rules of existing law that it gave to the people with clarity and in language simple and easy of comprehension.' (Mr. Justice Desai's Introduction to Mulla's *Hindu Law*, 12th edn., 20-21.)

'Naradasmriti, also known as Naradiya Dharmashastra was compiled in about A.D. 200.*** *** Although there is a faithful similitude with certain texts of Manu, Narada differs from him on a number of interesting and important points. He is categorical and emphatic in his statement that custom is powerful and overrides any text of the sacred law. His work is systematised and he is exhaustive in his treatment. He does not show any servile adherence to the views of his illustrious predecessors ; nor does he shrink from stepping in and declaring rules in conformity with the changes that had taken place in social, economic and political conditions. One great merit of this Smriti is that is states the law in a straightforward manner in a logical sequence which is readily assimilated and in a style which is both clear and attractive. Narada is renowned for the advanced and progressive views expressed by him on a number of matters' (*Ibid.*, 26-27).

4. As to whether there should be identity of caste between parties to a marriage, the rule as to anuloma and pratiloma marriage is given below.

Traditionally and for the purposes of law, Hindus are divided into four orders or varnas, namely (1) Brahman or priestly order, (2) the Kshatriya or warrior order, (3) the Vaisya or agricultural order, and (4) the Sudra. Each of these varnas is divided into a number of sub-orders or castes. The members of the first three orders are called twice-born or regenerate. The second birth or regeneration consists in the study of the Vedas or sacred literature and in the performance of samskaras or sacraments. All these are denied to Sudras except the samskara of marriage.

The precedence of these varnas is in the order mentioned above, Brahmans standing in the highest and the Sudras in the lowest category.

'Ancient texts prohibited *pratiloma* marriages, *i.e.* between males of lower caste and females of higher caste. Accordingly such marriages have been held by courts to be invalid. But *anuloma* marriages were permitted and recognised by the texts' of Manu, Yagnavalkya (c. 100 A.D.) Sankha, Gotama, Vyasa and Vishnu and the Mitakshara (c. 1100 A.D.)—the leading commentary upon the Code of Yagnavalkya written by Vijnaneswara in the latter part of the eleventh century. (Cf. Mulla's *Hindu Law*, 12th. edn., 610).

In course of time even anuloma marriages fell into such desuetude that the Allahabad and Madras High Courts held them to be invalid.

K. M. Munshi in his Foreward to the Classical Age Volume of the *History and Culture of The Indian People*, p. xxiv. says, 'Marriages between Sudras and the members of other classes were common. Bana, the Brahmana friend of Emperor Sri Harsa, had himself a brother born of a Sudra step-mother' (c. 600 A.D.).

5. Inter-marriages between different castes have taken place form very early times. The sage Vyasa was the son of a Brahman and a fisher-woman of the Sudra varna. Had the object of the Smriti-writers been to preserve the purity of

blood, they would have prohibited all such inter-caste marriages ; but they have not. They have allowed anuloma marriages, but prohibited pratiloma marriages. One may ask, Why ? We think, because there was a shortage of women among the higher castes *at least* about this time, 200 B. C. to 200 A. D., especially among the Brahmans. And this led to the prohibition of pratiloma marriages as a matter of law. Such marriages were perhaps already being regarded by the community with disfavour as leading to depletion of the strength in women among the higher castes.

6. In support of our opinion we would place the following facts for consideration of sociologists. The proportion of females per 1,000 males in the natural (as opposed to actual) population in 1931 in the several areas was :—

Punjab	824	Madras	1,009
Punjab States	816	Travancore	987
Kashmir	869	Mysore	965
Rajputana	900		
		India	940

In calculating the proportions we have not confined ourselves to Hindus alone, but have taken the entire population. For the Mohammedans are mostly descendants of converts ; and 'by no means a large proportion even of the Muhammadans of the Punjab are really of foreign blood, the estimate of the Punjab Superintendent being about 15 percent,' (*Census of India, Report*, 1921, 116). And the Punjab has been the cock-pit of Mohammedan invasion and immigration.

7. The Aryan invaders did not exterminate the local people ; they allowed them to live in their midst and slowly Aryanised them by imposing their religion and culture. Hinduism, or rather Brahmanism, is not a religion in the strict European sense of the term, but 'a way of life' according to Sir Sarvepalle Radhakrishnan, and thus there was no religious conflict. The Aryans admitted many non-Aryan gods into their pantheon, and influenced the non-Aryans to adopt several Aryan deities. Similarly there were many exchanges of social customs and practices.

8. The Aryans are likely to be found most in the north-west of India. We are using India not in the political sense of post-partition days, but in the geographical sense. An idea as to the measure of Aryanisation in the different parts of northern India may be gathered from the proportion of Brahmans in the total population ; and in the proportion of 'Exterior Castes' of the 1931 Census, who were certainly non-Aryanised Sudras of ancient days. We have not confined ourselves to Hindus alone, for most of the Mohammedans are descendants of Hindu converts ; and also because those who were regarded as Hindus differed in different censuses.

	Percentage of Brahmans	Exterior Castes
Punjab	3.81	5
Kashmir	6.95	5
Rajputana	7.61	14
U. P.	9.18	23
Bihar and Orissa	4.96	15
Bengal	2.83	14
Assam	1.72	21

The low percentage of Brahmans and members of the 'Exterior Castes' in the Punjab and Kashmir is due to forcible mass conversion to Islam.

9. We now proceed to give the all-India sex-proportion among several higher and lower castes and tribes.

Proportion of females per 1,000 males

Higher Castes		Lower Castes		Tribes	
Brahman	902	Chamar	967	Bhil	981
Kayastha	888	Kahar	933	Santal	998
Khatri	813	Namasudra	961	Ilivan	1,026
Rajput	868	Tanti	1.058	Gond	1,045

It will be seen that among higher castes the sex-proportion is low, while among lower castes and tribes it is much higher.

10. The Aryan legislators, the Rishis or sages of old would therefore prohibit marriages of females of higher castes with males of lower castes to prevent further depletion of their strength in women, partly to preserve racial purity and partly

to preserve their religious traditions (which are intimately connected with marriage and their offspring), while they would tolerate marriages of males of higher castes with females of lower castes for preservation of social concord. A large number of unmarried males of marriageable age is a social danger ; better, marriages with females of lower caste than no marriages.

11. The disparity in sex-proportion among the Brahmans was partly neutralized by many of them remaining celibate throughout life. But the proportion of such celibates is always likely to be low ; and as such it touches only a fringe of the problem.

12. The disparity in sex-proportion was attempted to be met by making the husband much older than the wife. Manu says,

'A man, aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart ; or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight ; but if he finish his studentship earlier, and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately'. (*Manu*, ix, 94. William Jones' translation of 1794 A.D.)

In one case the disparity is 18 years, in the other it is 16 years.

The result of any attempt to follow such rules would be to lessen the disparity between the sexes, especially when the girl attains the age of puberty. From the All-India Life-Tables for males and females (1931) we get :—

Age	Males	Females	Reducing the number of females to all-India proportion	Excess	Excess as %
0	1,00,000	1,00,000	94,000		
8	...	60,390	56,767 (a)	8,265	−17.0
12	...	58,394	54,890 (b)	10,959	−25.0
24	48,502 (a)	...			
30	43,931 (b)	...			

The excess in case of (a) is 8,265 ; and in case of (b) 10,959.

There appears to be a considerable excess of females. If we now reduce the number of females to 90,200, the all-India sex-proportion among Brahmans, the numbers would be :

Age	Male	Age	Females	Excess	Excess as %
24	48,502	8	54,472	+5,970	10 9
30	43,931	12	52,671	+8,740	16.6

The excess is reduced very much.

13. Similarly, the figures for Kayasthas, Khatris and Rajputs are :

Kayasthas

Age	Male	Age	Female	Excess	Excess as %
24	48,502	8	53,635	+5,133	9,5
30	43,931	12	51,859	+7,928	15.3

Khatris

Age	Male	Age	Female	Excess	Excess as %
24	48,502	8	49,105	+ 603	1.2
30	43,931	12	47,479	+3.548	7.5

Rajputs

Age	Male	Age	Female	Excess	Excess as %
24	48,502	8	52,424	+3,925	7.5
30	43,931	12	50,691	+6.760	13.5

It will be seen that in every case the excess of women is reduced very much.

We have used the life-tables for all castes and communities in calculating the proportion of males and females among these castes. So far as Bengali Kayasthas are concerned, there are reasons to believe that in their case the age-differences are smaller, though in the absence of an actuarial life-table for Kayasthas no definite conclusion should be drawn or inferred.

14. It may be argued that inspite of the rather high age at marriage for the husband the excess of females is not negligible, sometimes it is as high as one-sixth. Why then did Manu fix the ages he did ? Why did he not raise the ages at marriage of women ? Had he done so, the excess of females would have been reduced very much,

Taking the age of the husband to be 24 and that of the wife to be 12, we would get the following results :

	Husband (24)	Wife (12)	Excess	Excess as %
Brahman	48,502	52,671	4,169	7.9
Kayastha	48,502	51,859	3,357	6.5
Khatri	48,502	47,479	1,023	2.7
Rajput	48,502	50,691	2,189	4.3

The explanation is as given below. At present the population of India is increasing fast and the age-distribution of the population is of Sundbarg's Progressive Type. In the ancient world population increased slowly, and the age-distribution of the population is very likely to have been of Sundbarg's Stationary Type.

In such a population the proportion of men of higher ages is greater than that in a population of the Progressive Type. And the numbers at ages fixed by Manu is likely to have equated with each other more or less.

There may also have been a greater shortage of women than we have postulated above, viz. 940 per 1000 males. In our mind both these factors were working in favour of Manu's rules. Further in the north-west of India the sex-proportion is lower still. We give below the sex-ratios in 1921 in all-India and the Punjab.

	All-India	Punjab
Brahman	889	809
* Khatri	781	817
Rajput	873	858
Chamar	962	832

* The low all-India figure is due to many male Khatris living outside the Punjab for earning their bread, leaving their womenfolk at home.

15. We now turn to the life-tables for the Punjab, and we get :

Age	Male	Female	Reducing the number of females to Punjab proportion	Excess (+) or Deficit (−)
0	1,00,000	1,00,000	82,400	
8	...	58,941	48,567 (a)	− 526
12	...	56,426	46,495 (b)	+1,932
24	49,093 (a)			
30	44,563 (b)			

The excess of females, if any, is reduced to a small figure, in one case it is a shortage.

16. From the above facts we infer that most probably there was a shortage of women among the Aryans and the Aryanised tribes and castes in north-western India some two thousand years ago. Throughout the above discussion we have used the present (1931) demographic facts as our base ; and have assumed – and this is a big assumption—that they have remained more or less constant during these two thousand years.

The sex-proportion in India and in several Provinces is decreasing at present. In Bengal it is decreasing during the census period, but we have evidence that formerly it was low, and that it increased in the middle of the last century to 1002 per 1000 males. But the fact that sage after sage has discouraged pratiloma marriage and tolerated anuloma marriage from Gautama, Apastambha, Baudhayana and Vasistha (whose dates lie between 600 and 300 B. C. according to Mahamahopadhya Pandurang Vaman Kane) to Manu and Yagnavalkya (200 B. C. to 300 A. D.) goes to show, or tend to show, that some serious shortage of females was almost chronic. It may have varied during these nine hundred years, but the sex-proportion never approached equality.

Unless there was serious disproportion in number among the sexes Manu would not have formulated the rule quoted above to remove it, nor would the community have followed him out of mere respect. We think the very great respect which Manu obtained among the Rishis or sages was perhaps due to his more or less successful attempt at removing the disparity among sexes, and enabling every man to have a wife.

ASSEMBLY OF BARBERS IN DIMIRIA, PURI DISTRICT

NITYANANDA PATNAIK

(Received on 13 June 1961)

Introduction

THIS paper is a record of the session of the BARBER caste's assembly held in the writer's village, Dimiria, from 5th May to 7th May, 1961. The discussions were recorded at the meeting. For securing the names of representatives and villages the B e h e r a (Headman) was interrogated in the presence of other BARBERS who attended the meeting. Moreover, being a resident of the area, the writer was well known to most of them and the purpose of enquiry was also known to them ; because the BARBERS like other castes of his area have, since 1956, become familiar with 'queer' anthropological investigations.

Jurisdiction of the Assembly under Reference

The Assembly of the BARBERS which was held at Dimiria covers the territory known in administrative papers as G a n ḍ i - b e ṛ a, formed by about 50 villages. Not in all villages are BARBERS found, nor is any village exclusively inhabited by them. They live with other castes in only ten villages. So the Assembly which functions among the BARBERS of these 10 villages of Ganḍi-beṛa is known as G a n ḍ i - b e ṛ a S a b h ā or Assemby of Ganḍi-beṛa.

Members of the Assembly

The head of each BARBER family who is recognized as a G u ā B h ā i (Areca-nut Comrade) is a member of the

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Assembly ; and in this case the Assembly is constituted by 28 members. Table 1 gives the names of villages and of the areca-nut comrades in each. The original comrades have been distinguished from those who are later introductions by placing an asterisk beside the latters' names.

Initiation of Areca-nut Comrades

It is a custom that a BARBER of any territory can become a member of any other territory provided he is not an outcaste. He has to apply to the Headman when the Assembly is in session after paying an admission fee of Rs 2. If his petition is granted, he is presented with an areca-nut by the Headman as a token of acceptance. The Headman does not do it all by himself ; he first secures the consent of the other BARBERS assembled there.

Such admittance of BARBERS into a new group may also take place on the occasion of a marriage ceremony. Then it is known as S a b h ā K h e t a. Before the marriage ceremony takes place, the BARBER who prays for inclusion in a particular Assembly, sends a petition to the Headman of the particular territory along with the requisite number of areca-nuts and betel leaves for distribution among the areca-nut comrades of the territory. The Headman is responsible for their proper distribution. Each comrade receives one areca-nut and a betel leaf, whereas the Headman and the P ā l i B e h e r ā, his assistant, receive four areca-nuts and four betel leaves each. Acceptance of betel leaves and nuts by comrades is a mark of acceptance of invitation to attend the marriage ceremony.

On the appointed day, all the areca-nut comrades assemble in the house of the BARBER in whose house the marriage ceremony is to be celebrated. The head of the house offers each a place to sit and places before them 28 betel leaves, 6 areca-nuts, 2 bundles of b e e ṛ i or country cigarettes, four annas in cash, some sweets prepared from coco-nut, and some puffed rice coated with sugar. Then the assembled areca-nut comrades ask him to call all his relatives (cognates) who have been invited to attend the ceremony. When they

come, the areca-nut comrades representing the Assembly, permit them to take their seats in the same line and then the Headman performs the function known as Sabhā Kheta. The ceremony is performed in the following manner. The Headman distributes the food materials and the betel leaves and nuts among all the people present in the Sabhā Kheta. It is thus that the areca-nut comrades of the particular territory admit the relatives of the BARBER as members belonging to their own organization.

TABLE 1

Name of village	Name of the resident Areca-nut Comrades	Total number of such Comrades
Ramchandrapur	Madhu Barika	2
	Kamala Barika*	
Dimiria	Sanei Barika	3
	Paramananda Barika	
	Sankara Barika (Chakra Barika)	
Deuli	Dasa Barika (Behera)	2
	Bihari Barika	
Basudiā	Muli Barika	5
	Bana Barika	
	Sankara Barika	
	Bhima Barika	
	Kaba Barika*	
Banikila	Sudha Barika	1
Josadapur	Jaga Barika	4
	Hadu Barika	
	Agadhu Barika*	
	Baya Barika*	
Khairpali	Bharatha Barika*	3
	Loka Barika	
	Sana Barika	
Mahatapala	Haluri Barika	1
Majhia-khanda	Sankara Baria	3
	Bana Barika	
	Ananta Barika*	
Madhupur	Khali Barika (Pali Behera)	2
	Sama Barika	
		26

Session of the Assembly : Preliminary Arrangements

On the evening of 5 May 1961, about twelve hundred (?) people gathered in the appointed place, a place within a mango grove near the village of Dimiria. A Mali priest (Sudra) of the nearby temple of Siva appeared there with a garland and some b e l - leaves used for the worship of the deity and left them in the place of the meeting in charge of the Behera-Headman.

As the meeting was held near Dimiria, the BARBERS of this village had prepared the oven with a platform and shaded and fenced round the place for the kitchen. The BARBERS of Majhia-khanda were entrusted with the task of cooking meals.

Materials were purchased by the Headman and his Assistant from the caste-fund. A subscription had also been raised long before the meeting took place. Each areca-nut comrade and those who had not yet been ceremonially included as such, contributed annas eight, one seer of rice, and ¼ seer of pulses in order to meet the boarding expenses of the members who were to attend. The food supplied was simple ; it consisted of rice, pulses and fish and potato curry.

Opening Session

There was no business meeting on the opening day, i.e. 5 May 1961. Next day, after light meals at eight in the morning, the members of the Assembly sat together. The Headman took the attendance and found that the comrades of Khairpali and one of the comrades of Madhupur were absent. He asked the local BARBERS to look for them. The comrades of Khairpali had not deliberately stayed away from the meeting. Indeed, they had been directed by the Assistant Headman to secure a goat to be killed for the feast. But the Madhupur man had no such excuse ; he had stayed away from the meeting deliberately. However, having realized the consequences he would have to suffer as a result of disobedience of the orders of the Headman, he presented himself before the group on the same day at noon. The manner in which he

stood before the group was like this. He stood with his mouth tied over with his napkin which went round his neck (a sign of humbleness and submission). He folded his hands and kept his legs together (a sign of subordination and prayerfulness) and kept silent. Before he placed himself in this posture, he deposited before the group eight annas as a fine for his misconduct. For about an hour or so, no one pretended even to notice his presence. Then someone from the group casually asked, 'Who is this man ? Why has he come ? And why don't you enquire ?'

The Headman replied, 'We do not know why he has come here and why he has been standing like this.' Then, after another lapse of an hour or so, the Headman asked him what his business was. The man said, 'I confess that I have disobeyed the orders of my caste brothers. I ask for their pardon and promise never again to behave in this manner.'

The Headman then allowed him to join the meeting.

Next Session : Topics discussed

1. **Washing feet :** It was decided that BARBERS should henceforward wash the feet of those whom they had already been serving in this manner, with their left hand and not with their right hand as they used to do before. This was as a mark of their claim to a higher status. They could not altogether refuse to offer the above service ; but decided to employ the 'impure' left hand instead of the right hand to wash other people's feet.

2. **Transgression of another BARBER'S service area :** It was decided that no BARBER should poach on the service-area of another BARBER without sufficient reason. If the patron does not, for one reason or another, want his BARBER to continue in service, he should assign a justifiable cause for the change. Moreover, he should clear all dues before employing another BARBER. The new BARBER should make sure about all these things from the client as well as from the BARBER who is being displaced.

3. **Service-relationship with other castes :** Of all the services offered by BARBERS to other castes, shaving, distributing

areca-nuts among their patrons' relatives and friends on the occasions of marriage and death, removing leaf-plates in which guests have taken their meals on such occasions (a service which is no longer given by BARBERS publicly, but privately obtained by rich and influential families of upper castes) and washing the feet of the guests on such occasions are also important.

They decided that while offering their services as outlined above to their patrons belonging to different castes, they would follow strictly the former tradition. The nature of services offered by them traditionally to different castes is given in the following table :

TABLE 2

Caste	Nature of services offered	Services forbidden
Brahman, Kshatriya, Karan, Khandayat, Sudra	Shaving, distributing areca-nuts, washing feet (and removing leaf-plates used at the feast privately and only in rich and influential families), eating any kind of food given.	
Gauṛa—MILKMAN Mali—GARDENER Guṛia—CONFECTIONER and Sevak of Siva temple	Shaving and eating any kind of food given.	Washing feet, distributing areca-nuts, removing leaf-plates.
Teli—OILMAN, Kumbhar—POTTER Tanti—WEAVER	Shaving (while putting on a gāmuchha or napkin which does not become defiled on touching an untouchable like the WEAVER or OILMAN if it is wet)	Washing feet, distributing areca-nuts, removing leaf-plates, eating cooked food.
Keuṭa (caste which makes chapped rice)	—	Shaving etc.
Tulavina (COTTON CARDER)		

It was decided that there will be, for the present, no alteration in the nature of services offered to the families of different

castes as referred to above. Regarding removing plates and cleaning the place where feasts are held, there was discussion at great length. They decided (keeping the decision within themselves) that they would continue removing leaf-plates on special occasions in the house of their village Sarbarakar (Rent-collector) if he is a man of clean caste, and in Brahman families.

Last Day of the Meeting

Case 1. A case of transgression of service area

Bharatha Barika of Odapala had been serving in a village called Majhia-khanda which was his father's patron village. For the last three years, Hari Barika had been serving in that village instead. Bharatha lodged a complaint against Hari in the Assembly and prayed that he should be allowed to work in his patron village. The Assembly's judgement was that since Hari had been working there for the last three years and no complaint about tresspass had been received from Bharatha, Hari could not be evicted.

Case 2. An allegation regarding breach of custom

Khetra Sathi, a WASHERMAN of Dimiria, lodged a complaint that Paramananda Barika, BARBER of Dimiria had been using clothes discarded for the offence called G o b a d h a (killing a cow) before having them washed by the WASHERMAN. The custom is that the BARBER is entitled to get all the clothes used by the person who commits that offence, at the time of the purificatory ceremony. But the BARBER cannot use them until and unless they have been washed by the WASHERMAN who receives some remuneration for it. The Headman asked Khetra to take an oath with the god Siva's garland in his hand, as a test that he was speaking the truth. Khetra refused to do so, and left the place. Paramananda Barika, even without being asked to do so, held the garland in his hand and said that Khetra's accusation was untrue. The case was dismissed.

(These two families are now at enmity with one another, and almost every evening, the wife of Paramananda who has an abusive tongue hurls abuses at the wife of Khetra.)

Case 3. Complaint of a Sudra client

Prior to the sitting of the Assembly, a marriage was held in the house of Ananda Swain, a Sudra—CULTIVATOR of Dimiria. Sanatana Barika of the same village continues to serve Ananda who was his father's patron. During marriage, when guests assembled in Ananda's house, Sanatana washed their feet with his left hand. The guests raised an objection and demanded that he should wash in the traditional manner. Sanatana refused to do so and said that the Headman of his caste had forbidden him from washing the feet with his right hand. The guests did not allow Sanatana to wash their feet and washed their own feet.

Ananda brought the matter up before the Assembly on 5 May 1961 and sought their opinion. The Headman, on behalf of the other BARBERS present, explained to him very politely that BARBERS now-a-days everywhere had changed the hand from right to left while offering the service to guests in their client's home. Ananda had nothing to say, when it was a decision of the Assembly itself. He paid respect to it of course most grudgingly. (In the rural areas of Orissa, particularly in Puri district, about which the writer has a fairly good knowledge, different castes respect each other's collective decision. (Cf. 'Outcasting among oilmen for drinking wine,' *Mun in India*, 40, 1, pp. 1—7.)

Case 4. Breach of custom

Agadhu Barika, son of Sanatana Barika of Dimiria, is tied in formal friendship to Sada Sahu, a CONFECTIONER of village Majhia-khanda. Sada Sahu has some relatives living in a village named Tankola which is situated in the Territory of Sinhasthan. On some festive occasion, Agadhu was requested by his friend Sada to carry a b h ā r a (a load of earthern vessels in which food presents are carried by means of a carrying pole) to his relative's house at Tankola. Sada also accompanied Agadhu when the presents were being carried. On reaching the house of his relative at Tankola, Sada asked Agadhu to hand over the bhāra to his relative, and after doing that Agadhu, as is the custom in the house

of upper castes, washed the feet of his friend Sada, a thing which he should not have done because BARBERS do not wash the feet of people belonging to the lower CONFECTIONER caste. Since Agadhu, being a youth of twenty-five years, did not know many of the caste rules, he had formally welcomed his friend in the above manner.

The BARBERS of Tankola came to know about this and lodged a complaint against the action of Agadhu. They sent a letter to the Headman of the BARBERS of Gaṇḍi-beṛa Territory, to which Agadhu belongs, regarding the offence committed by Agadhu in their village.

The Headman opened the case in the meeting in which Agadhu's father, Sanatana, was present, and asked him if he knew anything about it. As a matter of fact, Sanatana knew everything, as Agadhu had reported it to him on return from Tankola. But Sanatana had kept it to himself. Sanatana pleaded before the Assembly in the following terms : 'My son has done this through ignorance ; he is a minor boy having no knowledge about our caste traditions. I am praying for forgiveness on his behalf.' Sanatana spoke while standing with folded hands, and the napkin wound round his neck and his feet kept close to each other.

After the report of Sanatana, the Headman waited to see if any one in the group had anything to say about it. Then he gave his decision on behalf of the group. He fined Sanatana a sum of anna one only, and gave him a warning and asked him to train his son well in the practices of the caste. The Headman also sent a letter to the BARBERS of Tankola informing them about the punishment given.

The meeting of the Assembly was dissolved on the evening of 7 May 1961.

Conclusion

Caste is still operative in a strong measure in rural Orissa. Every caste had and still has its caste assembly. As a matter of fact, the strength of the organization seems to vary in inverse proportion to the rank of the caste : the J ā t i ā n a

Sabhā or Assembly relating to caste matters is most elaborately developed among 'lower' castes.

Twenty years ago, the Assembly of the BARBERS was very lively and the position of the BARBER was hereditary. Neither the BARBER nor his patron was free to leave each other without sufficient cause. But the assembly has become enfeebled now and no longer sits regularly. Many other causes have also changed the original pattern of contracts between BARBERS and their clients.

It is noticeable however that since the last election held in 1956-1957, the people have become once more as caste-conscious as they were twenty years ago.

BARBERS are now reorganizing their assemblies and making the function regularly. A sitting of their federal assembly—an inter-territory caste assembly—is going to be held at Tankola on 5 June 1961. (Caste assemblies of different castes are generally held in months beginning from April to the end of June in Orissa.) Similarly, the WASHERMEN whose caste assemblies had become weakened are now reorganizing them and are holding meetings more regularly now-a-days. The assembly of the WASHERMAN is going to be held on 16 June 1961. The OILMEN'S assembly, which was in the dormant stage from 1950 to 1955, is now well organized and working as one of the outstanding caste organizations of Orissa.

What is the cause of such revival of caste assemblies ? From what little study the author has made in Puri district, it is found that the assemblies are being revived in order to bring about internal reforms and also for securing a higher status in relation to other castes than is assured by custom. But further investigation is necessary in order to unravel the causes which sometimes enfeeble the organization in some periods and revive or strengthen it in other periods.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT OF STUDIES IN CASTE STEREOTYPES

ISHWAR PRASAD

(Received on 1 July 1961)

I

Introduction

CASTE, as it exists today, is omnipresent. From the Himalayas in the north to Kanniyakumari in the south, and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the end of the Saurashtra Peninsula in the west, wherever one goes, one hears people talking about caste. Whether it is the appointment of a vice-chancellor or that of a school teacher, whether it is the election of parliament or that of a village panchayat, in almost every walk of life, people correlate the appointment or election, whatsoever it may be, with caste. They say, it is caste which shapes the destiny of thing or things. It thus appears that casteism is the pivot upon which hangs the whole social life of India at the moment.

This is why caste has become the focus of attention of all social scientists, especially of sociologists and anthropologists. Scientists are very much worried about the fact as to how it is that while more and more people are planning to get out of the mess of casteism, they are becoming more and more involved in it. Consequently, social scientists have become anxious about studying this problem.

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The question arises : What methods should be employed for studying it ? There are several methods which are applied by scientists for this purpose. The author of this paper intends to place before this learned assembly the methods which he has employed for studying it in the village of Bahna in Gaya district in the State of Bihar. The paper aims at the standardization of a technique for studying caste stereotypes, namely, trait technique.

II

As we all know, the word stereotype has been derived from the Greek word *stereos* which means solid. That is to say, stereotyped ideas are those which once acquired cannot be easily changed. 'Stereotypes are individual attitudes so strongly inter-conditioned by collective contacts that they become highly standardised and uniform within the group.' (1) They can 'be best defined as false classificatory concepts to which, as a rule, some strong emotional feeling-tone of like or dislike, approval or disapproval is attached.' (2) To quote Dr N. Prasad, 'The Indian Society is a caste-ridden one. Caste consciousness induces people to think about their own castes and other castes. They form some ideas and quite often, acquire some ready-made attitudes about their own castes and other castes. When we say that barbers are cunning and oilmen (Teli) bring bad luck, we are at once thinking on the basis of stereotypes.' (3) Members of one caste form and adopt ready-made attitudes about other castes and about their own without trying to verify, how far these attitudes are correct. These sterotyped attitudes form a fertile soil for hostility as well as of friendship. Broadly speaking, stereotypes are mostly negative and, hence, caste stereotypes are extremely good indexes for caste relationship whether that is one of hostility or of friendliness.

For studying caste stereotypes, the author went to the village referred to and lived there for a year and half at intervals. He met elderly persons, pundits, school teachers and other experienced inhabitants of the village and collected some

84 traits common to different castes living in the said village. A list of these traits was then prepared by him in alphabetical order to avoid personal bias. He wanted to know the reactions of the farmers of the village as a whole. He contacted 20 adult members of every caste (i.e., $20 \times 9 = 180$ in all) who depended upon land in one way or another as a means of their livelihood. Thus, there, were 180 subjects. Subjects were selected on the basis of random sampling. The traits were read out to the subject individually and in isolation to avoid the reaction of fellow villagers. The respondent was asked to select five important traits respecting the caste in question. In this way, he had to assign traits to the nine castes which constituted the village. The replies of the respondents were noted down in their presence. Table 1A and 1B give the traits and frequencies that were assigned to different castes by the farmers of the said village as a whole.

As per Harper's test, the traits were placed in three categories, namely, favourable, neutral and unfavourable (table 1B) :

TABLE 1A

Analysis of traits

Caste	Trait	Frequencies
Ahir	Illiterate	130
	Foolish	128
	Dull	127
	Unintelligent	120
	Wrestler	100
Bhumihar	Wealthy	148
Brahmin	Cunning	135
	Shrewd	126
	Fraudulent	125
	Untrustworthy	120
Brahmin	Religious	145
	Conservative	140
	Greedy	135
	Literate	115
	Generous	100

TABLE 1A (*Contd.*)

Analysis of traits

Caste	Trait	Frequencies
Kayastha	Literate	140
	Extravagant	138
	Fradulent	133
	Dishonest	131
	Intelligent	120
Koeri	Backward	135
	Illiterate	131
	Laborious	130
	Timid	120
	Simple	115
Kurmi	Laborious	140
	Backward	133
	Illiterate	130
	Dirty	128
	Miserly	100
Naua	Cunning	138
	Talented	133
	Intelligent	131
	Greedy	128
	Illiterate	115
Rajput	Wrestler	148
	Brave	145
	Generous	133
	Energetic	138
	Rich	125
Musahar	Backward	135
	Dirty	130
	Drunkard	128
	Dull	125
	Thief	120

TABLE IB

Classification of traits assigned to different castes as per Harper's test

Caste	No. of UF/F/N Traits	Rank
Ahir	4 UF & 1 F	4.5
Bhumihar Brahmin	4 UF & 1 F	4.5
Brahmin	3 UF & 2 F	3
Kayastha	3 UF & 2 F	3
Koeri	3 UF & 2 F	3
Kurmi	4 UF & 1 F	4.5
Naua	4 UF & 1 F	4.5
Rajput	5 F	1
Musahar	5 UF	9

Explanation : UF=unfavourable, N=neutral, F=favourable

From the same table, it will be clear that stereotypes are either mostly unfavourable as in case of Musahars or mostly favourable as in case of Rajputs. This is because of the nature of relationship the farmers of the village as a whole have with the caste or castes in question.

In order to check the reliability of the results arrived at with the help of the trait method, the author also applied modified Bogardus' social distance scale and Likert's scale upon the same subjects, the scores of which have been analysed in tables 2 and 3 respectively.

TABLE 2

Analysis of scores made on Bogardus' scale

Castes	No response	To close kinship by marriage	As an intimate friend	As a fellow diner	As a neighbour	As a servant	As a labourer	Exclusion society	Rank
Ahir	9	27	63	135	90	129	117	21	8
Bhumihar Brahmin	20	30	85	78	75	75	18	68	6
Brahmin	3	75	138	150	126	33	3	0	2
Kayastha	0	87	126	135	29	45	12	3	1
Koeri	0	36	69	81	105	96	78	0	4
Kurmi	9	30	63	84	81	129	114	6	6
Naua	9	30	63	69	99	87	54	6	6
Rajput	9	69	138	123	117	42	24	3	3
Musahar	21	24	69	69	36	26	120	27	9

TABLE 3

Analysis of scores made on Likert's scale

Castes	No response	I strongly like	I like	Undecided	I dislike	I strongly dislike	Rank
Ahir	9	21	99	12	12	27	6
Bhumihar Brahmin	13	15	63	24	15	60	8·5
Brahmin	5	72	60	15	18	0	1
Kayastha	6	69	84	9	12	6	2
Koeri	9	30	99	15	27	0	4.5
Kurmi	3	15	90	33	24	15	8.5
Naua	12	30	108	12	9	15	4.5
Rajput	3	60	84	12	6	9	3
Musahar	9	18	81	24	18	30	7

In order to study the correspondence between three methods of ranking (that is, Traits, Bogardus' and Likert's Scales), the author has calculated Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient. The calculations have been shown in tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 4

Calculation of rank correlation betweeu ranks given on (X) Bogardus' social distance scale and (Y) Likert's scale

Caste	Ranks on Bogardus scale (X)	Ranks on Likert's scale (Y)	(d)	(d^2)
Ahir	8	6	2	4.00
Bhumihar Brahmin	6	8.5	2.5	6.25
Brahmin	2	1	1	1.00
Kayastha	1	2	1	1.00
Koeri	4	4.5	.5	.25
Kurmi	6	8.5	2.5	6.25
Naua	6	4.5	1.5	2.25
Rajput	3	3	0	0
Musahar	9	7	2	4.00
				25.00

$$Tx = \frac{1}{12}E\,(tj^3 - tj) = \frac{1}{12}(3^3 - 3) = 2\,;\quad Ty = \frac{1}{12}E\,(tj^3 - tj)$$

$$= \frac{1}{12}\left[\left(2^3 - 2\right) + \left(2^3 - 2\right)\right] = \frac{12}{12} = 1$$

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient is given by

$$\rho = \frac{\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - (Tx + Ty) - \Sigma d^2}{[\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - 2Tx]^{1/2}[\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - 2Ty]^{1/2}}$$

$$= \frac{\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - (2 + 1) - 25}{[\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - 2(2)]^{1/2}[\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - 2(1)]^{1/2}} = +0.81$$

In order to test the significance of the above correlation coefficient we apply Student's t-test. Assuming that there is no correlation between ranks on Bogardus' scale and Likert's we calculate the statistics.

$$t = \frac{\rho}{(1 - \rho^2)^{1/2}}\sqrt{n - 2}$$

$$= 3.68.$$

From the tables, the value of t for 7 d.f. is 2·36 at 5% level of significance. Thus, our value of t is significant. Therefore, the correlation between ranks on Bogardus' and Likert's Scale is significantly high.

TABLE 5

Calculations showing rank correlation between ranks given on (X) Bogardus' Scale and (Z) traits

Caste	Ranks on X	Ranks on Z	d	d^2
Ahir	8	4·5	3.5	12.25
Bhumihar Brahmin	6	4.5	1.5	2.25
Brahmin	2	3	1	1.00
Kayastha	1	3	2	4.00
Koeri	4	3	1.0	1.00
Kurmi	6	4.5	1.5	2.25
Naua	6	4.5	1.5	2.25
Rajput	3	1	2	4.00
Musahar	9	9	0	0.00
Total				29.00

$$Tx = 2\,;\quad Tz = \frac{1}{12}\Sigma\,(t''j^3 - t''j) = \frac{1}{12}\left[\left(4^3 - 4\right) + \left(3^3 - 3\right)\right] = 7$$

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient is given by

$$\rho = \frac{\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - (Tx + Tz) - \Sigma d^2}{[\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - 2Tx]^{1/2}\,[\frac{1}{6}(n^3 - n) - 2Tz]^{1/2}}$$

$$= \frac{\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - (2 + 7) - 29}{[\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - 2(2)]^{1/2}\,[\frac{1}{6}(9^3 - 9) - 2(7)]^{1/2}} = +0{\cdot}74$$

In order to test the significance of the above correlation coefficient, we apply Student's t-test. Assuming that there is no correlation between ranks on Bogardus' Scale and Traits, we calculate the statistics.

$$t = \frac{\rho}{(1 - \rho^2)}\sqrt{n - 2}$$

$$= \frac{{\cdot}74}{\{1 - ({\cdot}74)^2\}^{1/2}}\sqrt{9 - 2} = 3.05$$

From the tables, the value of t for 7 d.f. is 2·36 at 5% level of significance. Thus our calculated value of t is significant. Therefore, the correlation coefficient between ranks on Bogardus' Scale and Traits is significantly high.

Table 4 shows correlation between Bogardus' and Likert's scales. The correlation coefficient stands at 0·81, which is significantly high. This shows that the subjects have given similar reactions regarding the castes in question on these two scales.

Table 5 shows correlation between Bogardus' Scale and Trait Method. The correlation coefficient is +0·74 which is again significantly high. This again means that the traits which the farmers of the village have assigned to the castes in question are not superficial ; rather they are those attitudes of theirs regarding various castes, which tell them how to treat a given caste in daily life. This thus plays a vital role in the realm of social relationships.

It is clear from table 4 that the farmers of the village as a whole show similar reaction about the castes on Bogardus' and Likert Scales. The correlation coefficient in case of Bogardus and Trait is significantly high. This means that they have reacted similarly on all these three scales.

From the above tables and discussion, it transpires that the Trait Method is a reliable method for ascertaining the attitude

of villagers towards the castes in question. Dr Narmadeshwar Prasad studied caste stereotypes. He applied the above mentioned three methods and the correlation coefficient between those three was quite significantly high (+·87). All this goes to testify the efficacy and reliablity of the Trait Method. This is one of the easiest methods and can be safely applied in similar situations. It is the need of the hour that we should conduct more and more of studies in caste stereotypes.

It is evident from table 1 that there are favourable as well as unfavourable traits assigned to castes. They reflect nothing else but superiority or the inferiority in the caste hierarchy for example. Musahars have been given all the five unfavourable traits and they are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. The stereotypes are coined by castes to justify their social status. 'Caste stereotypes are largely determined by life situations, opinions of the caste groups, personal experience, etc. They characterise all members of the caste in a single uniform way ignoring individual difference as an exception rather than a rule. What is most important is that stereotypes direct, often misdirect and distort human judgement ; they may occasionally contain some truth, but if they do so, it appears to be largely by chance. Thus it is essential to find out the kernel of truth among stereotypes.'

IV

Let us find out the truth in stereotypes. If it is found that stereotypes have a negligible base, the caste concerned should be made to know about it, so that their relationships become harmonious. So, in the humble opinion of the author, it is vitally important to study caste stereotypes in detail.

It will be good if we prosecute the study of caste prejudices and the impact of industrialization and urbanization upon the caste system as advanced by Dr Narmadeshwar Prasad.

The author's feeling is that there are some important and influential personalities who are responsible for the propagation of casteism. It will be proper in the fitness of the

things if we study such personalities, whom we may call hereafter *Caste Personalities.* Let us discover what factors and conditions have compelled them to preach and practise casteism. Here we can apply psychological tests for analysing their personality traits. Such study will form the basis for further research. Lastly, the author would like to put forward his humble suggestions as to how caste may be studied.

(*i*) *History of the caste system* :—Enough work has been done in the field. But one thing remains yet to be done ; what is the relation between the present needs of society and the present set-up and principles of the caste system ?

(*ii*) *Caste as a complex of sanctions and taboos* :—What are the sanctions and taboos which caste system imposes upon society ? How is society influenced by the taboos and sanctions ? To what extent are these responsible for conflicts ? How and by whom are such conflicts dealt with ?

To what extent do the sanctions and taboos curtail the development of a critical attitude of members of society ? To what extent do the respective forces cause increased criticism ? What is the result of these attitudes ?

(*iii*) What changes have taken place ? How do the changes influence the personality of the individual ? The specific factors responsible for the change in the system should be studied. It should be examined whether people welcome such change and, if not, what stands in the way ?

(*iv*) *Social unrest and crises as index to the obsolescence of caste system* :—One should study the changes that have taken place outside and also the changes that are taking place inside the caste system. Let us see whether there is lag. Its causative aspects should be discovered.

What tension occurs because of the lag ?

How effectively can the social unrest be prevented ? How does it reconcile old and new ideas ? Does change produce order or disorder ? What is the mutual influence of this institution and the group upon each other under changing conditions ?

What are the factors that are making people more and more caste-minded and thus panicky ? How can we get out of this mess ? What will be its effect upon the social structure in future ?

These are merely the humble suggestions of the author. The topic requires detailed and serious study. It is for the august and learned assembly like this to come forward with a set of clear and definite methodologies for studying it.

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NOTE ON AUTHORITY AND UNILATERAL CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

BHABANANDA MUKHERJEE

(Received on 24 June 1961)

GEORGE C. Homans and David M. Schneider have suggested that if preferential unilateral cross-cousin marriage exists in a society, then it is to be expected that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (marriage of a man to his MoBrDa) will occur in those societies where authority is held by the father. Conversely, they expect that in societies where authority is located in the status of the MoBr, cross-cousin marriage will be of the patrilateral variety (marriage to Fa SiDa (Homans and Schneider, 1955). According to them the locus of authority rather than line of descent is the important determinant of which the type of cross-cousin marriage becomes preferred by any society.

About descent, Murdock, (1949) writes, 'It merely refers to a cultural rule which affiliates an individual with a particular selected group of kinsmen for certain social purposes such as mutual assistance or the regulation of marriage'. About residence he writes, 'Rules of residence, and especially the extent to which they involve a shift to a new community by the woman, are significantly related to the modes of contracting marriages'. Rules of descent and residence are concerned with marriage but authority is not concerned directly.

Furthermore, with reference to local descent groups, Leach (1951) writes that membership of such groups is defined by descent as well as residence, and they come about in a limited number of ways and one of the ways is that they come about with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence coupled with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, succession to male authority being from father-in-law to son-in-law. He cites the

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Garo as example. The Garo of Assam, one of the four societies of their sample, have been put forward as the society which combines matrilineal descent with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and patripotestal authority. Burling (1958) in a communication holds that the Garo constitute an exception to the Homans-Schneider theory as most explicitly the mother's brother among the Garo has clear authority, and empirically both types of cross-cousion marriage are in occurence. My personal findings (Mukherjee, 1956) reveal that out of 22 marriages between n o k r o m and n o k n a d o n a (heiress), in 4 cases only the FaSiSo happens to be the n o k r o m and in one the MoBrSo.

Burling further suggests that 'the locus of initiative in arranging marriages may be an important variable to add to those of residence, locus of jural authority, and type of cross-cousin marriage in attempting to ferret out the rules by which these phenomena are related to one another in the various societies of the world'. He writes that initiative among the Garo comes from the girl or her relatives (particularly her father) and not from the boy, specifically for the girls who are selected heiress (n o k n a d o n a) and it is relevant that they should marry their FaSiSo whom their parents would delight to have as sons-in-law as they can control them by virtue of their lineage relationship.

This note discusses firstly the Homans-Schneider theory and secondly Burling's suggestion of the locus of initiative in marriage.

Three matrilineal tribes of the former Travancore-Cochin State (now Kerala), namely, Kanikkar, Urali and Malapantaram, were patrilocal and had substantial avuncular authority even in the recent past (Mukherjee, 1952, 53). Among the Kanikkar the MoElBr (K a r n a v a n) held absolute authority in fixing marriage of his SiSo who used to inherit his property. Bilateral cross-cousin marriage occurs among them with strong preference for matrilateral female cross-cousin. 411 marriages were recorded, and 16.3% (67) were found to be bilateral cross-cousin marriage and of these 47 marriages took place with MoBrDa. Closeness of relationship with the MoBr ensured

friendliness with his son who is a m m a v a z h i m a c h a m b i (brother-in-law through mother), and therefore one could place one's arms on his neck as a formal token of familiarity. By virtue of this jural authority of MoBr, his son had in the past the privilege of inflicting 101 lashings on his FaSiSo for the offence of prenuptial pregnancy. Among the Urali there were 25 cases of cross-cousin marriage of which 21 took place with MoBrDa and among the Malapantaram out of 20 cases, 4 took place with MoBrDa.

Among the Khasi of Assam who are matrilocal like the Garo, mother's brother was the manager of the sister's house. No cross-cousin marriage is favoured among them. Theoretically, if at all it occurs, it will be with MoBrDa. Panikkar (1918) writes that among the matrilineal Nayar of Malabar, the suitor was generally the FaSiSo. K a r n a v a n (mother's elder brother) was the head of the t a r a v a d (property-owning group) and exercised legal authority over its members.

We shall now discuss the cross-cousin marriage among patrilineal tribes with patrilocal residence and patripotestal authority.

The Riang of Tripura practise both parallel and cross-cousin marriage (21.9% of 235 marriages) and 4.2% are matrilateral and 3.7% are patrilateral. Grigson (1938) writes that among the Hill Maria out of 105 marriages, 57 are between cross-cousins and the commonest marriage is with the FaSiDr. Among the Ho (Majumdar, 1950) of Singhbhum bilateral cross-cousin marriage is prevalent and marriage with MoBrDa is favoured. The Purum (Das, 1945) of Manipur extensively practise cross-cousin marriage of one type, namely with MoBrDa and the other type is tabooed. Out of a total of 85 unions recorded in 1936 in three villages, 63 happened to be brought about by union with the MoBrDa and the rest in the mother's sib. The Lakher (Parry, 1932) of Assam, like the Purum marry the MoBrDa but not the FaSiDa.

Among the Coorgs (Emeneau, 1938) cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety ; no tendency is seen towards asymmetry.

In the ideal type of marriage among the Kachin (Leach, 1951), a man marries the MoBrDa ; he is forbidden to marry the FaSiDa. Among the Chinese (Hsu, 1945), marriage with FaSiDa is tabooed and the other type is favoured.

Explanations

Leach (1951) writes, 'Frazer, Westermark and others, before 1920, noted the widespread occurrence of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage of both varieties, but these phenomena were not then generally regarded as separate isolates distinct from reciprocal cross-cousin marriage. Rivers was interested not only in the distribution of the varieties of cross-cousin marriage, but also in finding out with what practices each form of marriage, was associated. Leach insists on the institutionalized arrangement of cross-cousin marriage which satisfies the need.

Among the Kanikkar and the Urali, cross-cousin marriage was closely associated with kin obligation ; among the Malapantaram with local group, with the Garo succession of authority and inheritance and among the Hill Maria with some special privilege of a man over his FaSiDa. It had no original institutional association among the Riang but at later date it developed when the endogamous community oriented itself towards exogamy. If marriage among primitive societies is not considered from a strictly individual point of view (Lowie, 1950) but is concerned as alliance of gronps, then certainly its operation or practice owes to multiple determinants. Besides, a kin group is determined by the nature of descent and residence.

Fortes (1950) subscribes to the opinion that that strongest motive (he has not used the word determinant) of cross-cousin marriage among the Ashanti derives from the conflicts latent in kinship relations. 'Cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties.' A similar view has been expressed by Gough (1952) for the motive of cross-cousin marriage among the Nayar of South India. The use of

psychological motive in explaining cross-cousin marriage in the Trobiands was first made by Malinowski (1947). Leach, on the other hand, is not concerned about the motive or determinant but with the structural explanation, as has been given by Hsu for the preference of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage among the Chinese.

Any theory in social anthropology can never be expected to have no exception ; but what is found here is that the Homans and Schneider theory is not applicable in the case of many tribes of India who practise bilateral cross-cousin marriage. The Garo society as adduced by them, is also no evidence. A single social phenomenon like cross-cousin marriage cannot perhaps be correlated to a single factor. The particular fact remains as a hypothesis, not verified in terms of larger data. It holds good for the Purum and the Lakher, but not for such matrilineal tribes and other tribes as have a strong preference for a particular kind of unilateral cross-cousin marriage.

About Burling's suggestion of locus of initiative in marriage, we find that among the matrilineal Kanikkar and Urali initiative is taken by the maternal uncle of the boy, without whose consent the boy's father or the boy himself cannot do anything. Among the patrilineal Ho and Purum, the initiative is taken by the boy's father (among the Purums the boy sometimes takes initiative).

The veto power in marriage rests among the Kanikkar with the maternal uncle of the girl, among the Urali with the elder brother of the girl ; among the Ho with the father of the girl ; and among the Purum with the boy himself. Both among the Kanikkar and the Ho, the father of a girl will under no circumstances demean himself in sending proposal for the marriage of his daughter.

In spite of the anomalous situations of the locus of initiative and veto power in marriage and, differential authority structure, the above tribes including the Garo have a common preference for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

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STUDIES ON PAPILLARY PATTERNS OF LAMBADI FINGERS

Pabitra Gupta
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Dharmadas Sarkar

The Lambadi

THE Lambadi, a semi nomadic tribe often called as gypsies of India, are scattered all over India and known by different names as *Banjara*, *Lambar*, *Lambadi*, *Lamani*, *Sugali*, etc. Their main concentration, however, is at present in southern part of India. They speak among themselves a gipsy language which is a corrupt form of Marwari and Hindusthani (Sastri, 1929). Different accounts are recorded about their origin ; but there is no hesitation in locating their origin in Northern India, probably Marwar. There are historical evidences regarding their occupation of carrying grains and supplies for armies in the field, during the last centuries. Crooke (1896) admits the Rajput origin in their tradition. Lyall (1899) considers them to be of very mixed origin comprising contingents from various castes and tribes. There is least doubt about their coming down to Southern India only within historical times. Briggs (1813) mentions Muhammad Kassim Ferista, who wrote three hundred fifty years back about the Lambadi as grain merchants who travelled from one end of the Deccan to the other. They came into South India along with the great invading armies of the Mughal Empire.

Till recently, they were included among the criminal tribes for notoriety for predatory habits. At present, they are, however, settled down to agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.

About their physical appearence it was noted that the Lambadi are medium and below medium in stature having mesocephalic and hypsicephalic head and leptorrhine and

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mesorrhine nose, euryprosop and mesoprosop face and relatively fair complexion (Gupta and Basu unpublished).

Materials and Methods

Palm and finger impressions of 51 male and 54 female Lambadi, mostly unrelated, were collected by the first two authors from Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh during the summer of 1960, while engaged in somatometric study of Lambadi, Chenchu and some caste groups of the State. Print having any scar mark of the finger tip or any other defect, which could not be deciphered for proper identification of pattern types and counting ridges was omitted. Altogether 1050 digital impressions were collected out of which 2 prints had to be rejected for the present study.

Following Cummins and Midlo (1943), rolled prints for all the ten fingers were taken on glazed papers with printer's ink. In the present paper attention is confined to digital patterns since greater importance of digital patterns than other dermatoglyphics so far genetic control is concerned, has been pointed out by number of authors. Conventional standards were employed for the diagnosis of the digital patterns. However, for ridge counting, actual ridge count has been taken instead of Bonnevies (1924) quantitative value. In the case of whorls the larger of the two counts is considered (Cummins and Midlo 1943). Although the data presented are insufficient for definite analysis of dermatoglyphic study among the Lambadi, some evaluation of the available material would seem to be useful and provide suggestions for future studies. Unfortunately, due to want of any published material, no comparison could be made with other populations with whom they trace a common origin or biological relationship.

Results

The distribution of papillary patterns are shown in Table I for males and females separately.

From Table 1 it appears that among males total frequency of whorls (38.31%) is higher than the females (30.06%), while the same of loops for males (56.18%) is lower than the females (62.33%) ; likewise males have lower occurance of arches

TABLE 1

Distribution* of Papillary Patterns in individual Digits and in Total

Males

Patterns	L		e	f		t	R		i	g	h	t	
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	Combined Total
Whorl	23	17	16	27	10	93	27	21	13	30	11	102	195
%	4.52	3.34	3.14	5.30	1.90	18.27	5.30	4.12	2.55	5.89	2.16	20.04	38.31
Loop Ulna	26	22	30	23	39	140	21	18	34	18	39	130	270
%	5.11	4.32	5.89	4.52	7.66	27.50	4.12	3.54	6.68	3.54	7.66	25.54	53.04
Loop Radial	1	2	—	—	1	4	2	6	1	2	1	12	16
%	0.20	0.39	—	—	0.20	0.78	0.39	1.18	0.20	0.39	0.20	2.36	3.14
Arch	1	10	5	1	1	18	1	6	2	1	—	10	28
%	0.20	1.96	0.98	0.20	0.20	3.54	0.20	1.18	0.39	0.20	—	1.96	5.50
Total	51	51	51	51	51	255	51	51	50	51	51	254	509

* Percentages calculated on combined total number of prints.

TABLE 1 (*Contd.*)

Females

Patterns	L						R						
	e			f		t	i			g		h	t
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	Combined Total
Whorl	21	16	14	23	9	83	23	14	8	29	5	79	162
%	3.90	2.97	2.60	4.27	1.67	15.40	4.27	2.60	1.48	5.37	0.93	14.66	30.06
Loop Ulna	30	26	34	28	41	159	27	30	41	23	47	168	327
%	5.56	4.82	6.31	5.19	7.61	29.50	5.01	5.56	7.61	4.27	8.71	31.17	60.66
Loop Radial	1	5	—	1	1	8	—	1	—	—	—	1	9
%	0.18	0.93	—	0.18	0.18	1.48	—	0.18	—	—	—	0.18	1.67
Arch	2	7	6	2	3	20	3	9	5	2	2	21	41
%	0.37	1.30	1.11	0.37	0.56	3.71	0.56	1.67	0.93	0.37	0.37	3.90	7.61
Total	54	54	54	54	54	270	53	54	54	54	54	269	539

(5.50%) than females (7.61%). Dankmeijer's (1938) observations in respect of the sexual characteristics of the distribution of papillary patterns holds good also for the Lambadi. When radial and ulnar loops are considered separately it is observed that ulnar loops occur in higher frequency in females (60.66%) when compared with males (53.04%), while reverse is the case for radial loops where males show higher percentage (3.14)

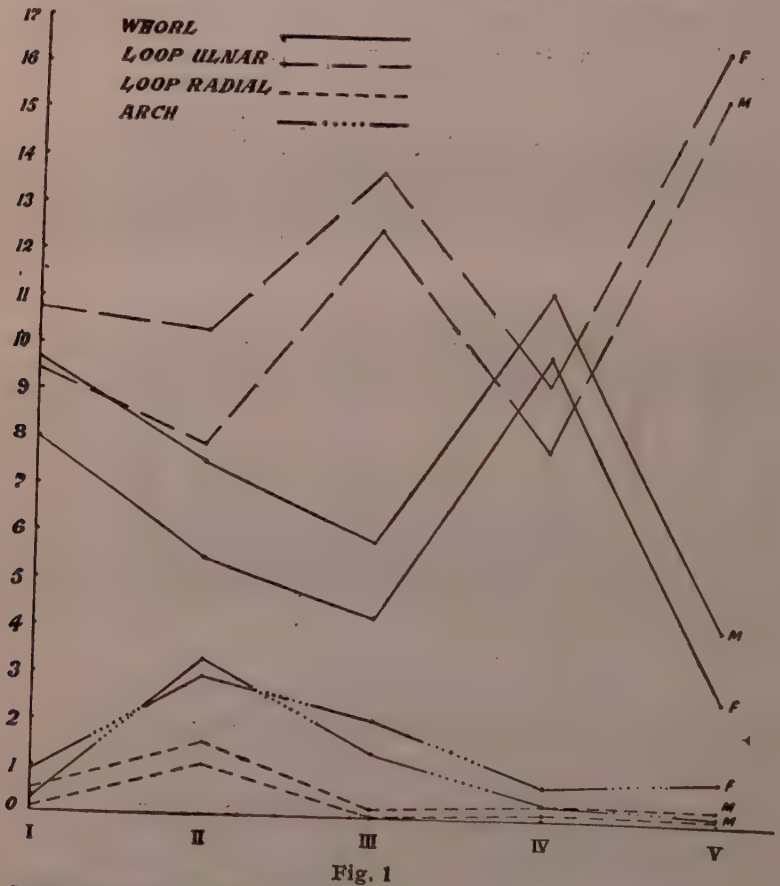

Fig. 1

Distribution of papillary patterns of both hands of males and females.

than the females (1.67). Higher frequencies of whorls are observed on the IV digit in both the hands of the two sexes, closely followed by those on the II digit. Again, when ulnar loops are taken into consideration, it is observed that highest frequencies occur in V digit in both the hands of the two sexes.

Whorls, ulnar loops and arches occur in all the digits of the two sexes excepting for the V digit of the right hand of the females where arch is conspicuously absent. Highest incidence of radial loops are observed in II digits. Among males III and IV fingers of left hand are devoid of any radial loop.

Rife's (1953) observations on interpopulation trends on the distribution of digital patterns, viz. (a) whorls occur more frequently on right fingers, arches on left fingers, (b) whorls also occur with greatest frequency on ring fingers and thumbs, arches on index and middle fingers, are in agreement with the Lambadi series, excepting for the females where whorls occur in slightly lesser frequency and arches occur in a slightly greater frequency on right fingers. This little deviation from the general trend may probably be due to inadequate sample size. The sexwise distribution of papillary patterns of both hands combined are illustrated in figure I.

Comparative occurrence of whorls, loops (R + U) and arches in different digits and the ratio of whorls and loops are given in Table 2.

Inspection of Table 2 shows that there are some sexual as well as inter-digital differences in comparative occurrence of whorls, loops (R + U) and arches. Loops occur in higher frequencies than the whorls in II, III and V fingers of both the hands and in I of left hand among males whereas the same occur in all the fingers of both the hands among the females. Only the IV fingers of both the hands and I finger of right hand of the males show higher incidence of whorls than the loops. Arches occur most in II fingers of two hands among both the sexes, followed by III.

In the males the combined whorl-loop ratio of both hands for the fingers I, II, III and V varies between 1 : 1.04 and 1 : 3.81 with a mean of 1 : 2.09, while the IV fingers show a loop whorl ratio of 1 : 1.36. Similarly, among females the whorl-loop ratio for the fingers I, II, III and V varies between 1 : 1.37 and 1 : 6.36 with a mean of 1 : 3.25, while the IV finger has a whorl-loop ratio of 1 : 1.04.

Indices and percentage occurrence of digital patterns are given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

Comparative occurance of Whorls, Loops (R+U) and Arches in different digits

Digit	Males				Females			
	LT	RT	LT and RT Combined	W–L Ratio	LT	RT	LT and RT Combined	W–L Ratio
I	L>W>A	W>L>A	L>W>A	1 : 1.04	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 1.37
	27>23>1	26>24>1	51>49>2		32>20>2	27>23>3	59>43>5	
II	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 1.26	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 2.07
	24>17>10	24>21>7	48>38>17		31>16>7	31>14>9	62>30>16	
III	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 2.24	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 3.22
	30>16>5	35>13>2	65>29>7		34>14>6	40>9>5	74>23>11	
IV	W>L>A	W>L>A	W>L>A	1 : 1.36	L>W>A	W>L>A	W>L>A	1 : 1.04
	27>23>1	30>19>1	57>42>2		29>23>2	30>22>2	53>51>4	
V	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 3.81	L>W>A	L>W>A	L>W>A	1 : 6.36
	40>10>1	40>11>0	80>21>1		43>8>3	46>6>2	89>14>5	

TABLE 3

Indices and per cent frequencies of digital patterns.

Sex	No. of patterns	Frequencies of pattern types				Pattern Intensity Index[1]	Arch Whorl Index[2]	Whorl Loop Index[3]
		Whorl	Loop Ulna	Loop Radial	Arch			
Males	509	38.31	53.04	3.14	5.50	13.28	14.36	68.19
Females	539	30.06	60.66	1.67	7.61	12.24	25.32	48.23

[1] [(Whorls × 2) + Loops] ÷ 10

[2] (Arches ÷ Whorls) × 100

[3] (Whorls ÷ Loops) × 100

(Indices calculated from percentile frequencies)

Pattern intensity index is slightly higher (13.28) among the males than the females (12.24), while in arch-whorl index reverse is the case, i.e. females show a much higher (25.32) index than the males (14.36) as expected. Again, in males whorl-loop index is much higher (68.19) than the females (48.23).

A comparative statement of pattern indices for left hand and right hand separately with respect to the males and females are noted in the table below.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Pattern Indices of Right and Left Hands (Males and Females)

	Males		Females	
	LT	RT	LT	RT
Pattern Intensity Index	6.48	6.80	6.18	6.07
Arch-Whorl Index	19.38	9.78	24.09	26.60
Whorl-Loop Index	64.60	71.83	49.71	46 76

It is apparent from Table 4 that among males both the hands tend to possess nearly equal value in pattern intensity index, while in left hand the arch-whorl index is about twice of that of the right. Again, whorl-loop index is higher in right hand of the males. For the females, pattern-intensity index is nearly equal in two hands. Arch-whorl and whorl-loop indices are higher in right than left hand.

The bimanuars also conspicuously present the sexual difference. Males show the highest peak at 7W3L (12%) while females show the peak at the reverse combination i.e. at 3W7L, having a percentage of 13.21. The bimanuars are demonstrated in figure 2.

Fig. 2 Bimanuar Distribution

TABLE 5

Distribution of Monomorphic Hands

	Males			Females		
Pattern	L/T	R/T	Total	L/T	R/T	Total
Whorl	4	5	9	—	—	—
%	7.84	9.80	17.65	—	—	—
Loop	12	9	21	10	12	22
%	23.53	17.65	41.18	18.52	22.22	40.74
Arch	—	—	—	1	1	2
%	—	—	—	1.85	1.85	3.70

Monomorphic hand occurs in a very high frequency (58.83%) among the males while among the females it occurs in 44.14%. It is worth mentioning that among males there is no monomorphic hand having arches while the same holds true for females having whorls. It is of interest to note that among females two individuals show bilateral monomorphism.

The total symmetry and asymmetry in the finger prints of the Lambadi are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Total Symmetry and Asymmetry

	Males	Females
Symmetry	188 (Pair)	189 (Pair)
%	74.01	70.26
Asymmetry	66 (Pair)	80 (Pair)
%	25.98	29.74

It is apparent from Table 6 that males have higher frequency of total symmetry (74.01%) than the females (70.26%).

Ridge Count

As done by Sarah Holt (1951), difference between mean ridge count for individual fingers in two sexes are shown in the table below.

TABLE 7

Difference between mean ridge counts in male and female for individual fingers

	Male	Female	Difference (M—F)
Right I	18.32	15.68	+2.64
Right II	11.65	11.02	+0.63
Right III	12.74	11.87	+0.87
Right IV	15.33	15.37	−0.04
Right V	12.80	13.13	−0.33
Left I	16.18	14.75	+1.43
Left II	10.86	10.96	−0.10
Left III	13.55	12.30	+1.25
Left IV	15.78	15.61	+0.17
Left V	13.25	13.11	+0.14
Total right hand	70.84	67.07	+3.77
Total left hand	69.62	66.73	+2.89
Total for both hands	140.46	133.80	+6.66

Table 7 gives the sex difference in ridge count for individual fingers. In general, means for individual digits as well as for total ridge count, are higher in males than females. There are, however, exceptions in digits IV and V of the right hand and digit II of the left hand. The total for males is 140.46 and that for females is 133.80. However, in ridge counts no distinct sex difference is discernible in the present series.

Bimanual differences in mean values of ridge counts of the males and females combined and differences in mean ridge counts between fingers in males and females are shown in tables 8 and 9.

TABLE 8

Differences in mean ridge counts between fingers of right and left hand of the two sexes combined

Digit	Right	Left	Difference (R–L)
I	17.00	15.46	+1.54
II	11.33	10.91	+0.42
III	12.30	12.92	−0.62
IV	15.35	15.69	−0.34
V	12.96	13.18	−0.22
Combined digits	68.94	68.16	+0.78

TABLE 9

Differences in mean ridge counts between fingers of the right and left hand in males and females

Digit	Right	Left	Difference (R–L)	Right	Left	Difference (R–L)
I	18.32	16.18	+2.14	15.68	14.75	+0.93
II	11.65	10.86	+0.79	11.02	10.96	+0.06
III	12.74	13.55	−0.81	11.87	12.30	−0.43
IV	15.33	15.78	−0.45	15.37	15.61	−0.24
V	12.80	13.25	−0.45	13.13	13.11	+0.02
Combined digits	70.84	69.62	+1.22	67.07	66.73	+0.34

Differences in mean ridge counts between fingers of the right and left hand combining both the sexes are given in Table 8. Mean difference for the right and left hands have been taken together for each digit. Excepting digit I the differences in means in all the other digits are too small. Digits III, IV and V show a lower mean value on the right than on the left, while for combined digits, those of the right hands have slightly higher mean values than left.

Bimanual differences for males and females (Table 9) separately show higher total ridge count on the right hand than on the left, in spite of the disparity of digits III, IV and V of the males and digits III and IV of the females. The mean ridge counts for digits V of both hands have nearly same value in females. In between the sexes, differences in mean ridge counts between fingers of right and left hand is greatest in digit I.

In Table 10 the frequency and percentage of individuals with higher counts on the right hand, on the left hand, and with equal counts on both hands are shown.

TABLE 10

Showing higher ridge counts on the right hand, on the left hand and with equal counts in both hands

	R>L		R=L		L>R		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Males	20	40.82	—	—	29	59.18	49
Females	27	56.25	3	6.25	18	37.50	48
Total	47	48.45	3	3.09	47	48.45	97

It is intelligible from the above table that sexual difference exists when ridge counts are compared between right and left hand.

Acknowledgement

We express our sincere thanks to Dr R. Subrahamanyam, Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, Department of Archæology, Government of India, for providing the facilities required.

Summary

Finger dermatoglyphics of the Lambadi of Andhra comprising 51 males and 54 females have been analysed in this paper.

More than half of the total sample possesses ulnar loops, whorls following next with lesser frequency. While arches

occur as high as 6.55% of the population, radial loops are rare only.

Sexwise and handwise variations in distribution of papillary patterns in individual digits and in total are in conformity with the general trend observed among different populations by Rife, excepting slight deviations which are probably due to smallness of sample size.

Frequency distributions of the total ridge count for males and females are compared. The total value for both hands of Lambadi males is 140.46 and females is 133.80.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Sree Sree Gurugrantha Sahibjee : with annotation and Bengali translation. Parts I and II. *By Professor Haran Chandra Devsarma Chakladar. Vedic Research Institute, Berhampur, Orissa. Pp. 109 and 249.*

The Sikh Adi Granth is unquestionably one of the great religious books of India and the world, and it may be described as a sort of Rig-Veda for the Panjab and North India which was compiled in the mediaeval times. The fifth Sikh Guru Arjuna collected all available compositions by his predecessors in the line of Gurus in the Sikh faith, and compiled them into one book which became famous as the Sri Guru Grantha, Adi Grantha, or Granth Sahib. Besides, Guru Arjuna also had the happy idea of making a collection of devotional hymns and verses which were composed by other religious saints and devotees and were current in the Panjab, and these included a large number of hymns and songs and didactic verses from religious teachers like Kabir of North India, Nama Deva of Maharashtra, Ramananda of Eastern India and Jayadeva of Bengal. The Granth Sahib is a precious classic of devotional literature which is also studied with great respect by Hindus other than Sikhs, particularly in Sindh and in many other parts of North India where there is some knowledge of the language. The language of these hymns is not pure Panjabi, but it is a kind of mixed speech based on some Hindi dialects like the speech of Delhi and Braja-Bhasha, with Panjabi words and forms here and there. The composite character of this language makes its direct appeal to the people of North India so easy.

The first English translation of the Granth Sahib was brought out by the German Missionary, Trumpp. This translation was not at all satisfactory because of both want of sympathetic appreciation of the work itself on the part of the translator, and the fact that studies of Indian languages were at just their incipient stage 85 years ago. Another translation of almost the whole of the Granth Sahib was made by that great lover of Sikhism, who virtually became a Sikh himself, Macauliffe.

The Guru Grantha is a great work which should be translated into Bengali and other Indian languages. Only certain portions have so far appeared with Hindi translations and explanations, although there have been at least four editions of the entire Guru Grantha in the Nagari character, and the last one in beautiful print and in very convenient typography was published by the Amritsar Golden Temple authorities.

In Bengal the Guru Grantha made an impression, it would appear, from the middle of the last century. Rabindranath's father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, was a great admirer of the devotional poetry of the Guru Grantha, and he was accustomed to go to the Golden Temple when he would be at Amritsar, the focus of the Sikh religion at the present day, and there take part in devotions through the chanting and listening of the Guru Grantha. Inspired by his father, Rabindranath made Bengali translations of one or two of the hymns of Guru Nanak from the Guru Grantha. After Guru Arjuna's time compositions by the remaining five Gurus were duly incorporated in the work. But since Guru Govinda Singh made the Guru Grantha a closed book by abolishing the religious office of the Guru, there have been no further additions, excepting that as a supplement we have some of the compositions by Guru Govinda Singh himself.

Long ago, Sri Tinkori Banerji brought out in Bengali a very helpful book, and quite a comprehensive one, on the history of the Sikh faith and the biographies of the Gurus. In this book, which has been published in a second edition some years ago, the author gave ample quotations from the Guru Grantha in the Bengali character with Bengali translations and notes. This book gave the average Bengali reader some idea of the nature of the Sikh cult and its history and of the contents of the Guru Grantha, There were some other Bengali scholars and lovers of the Sikh Pant, like Kiran Chand Darvesh and Jnanendra Nath Datta, who brought out editions of some portions of the Granth Sahib like the Japaji and the Sukhamani. This was not enough and the work remained more or less unfamiliar and even unknown to Bengali readers. Some Bengali scholars of Sikh history also had to study the Granth Sahib in detail, like Prof Indu Bhusan Banerji of the University of Calcutta, who was to have made a complete translation of the Granth Sahib into English,

A distinguished and erudite Professor of the University of Calcutta, Sri Haran Chandra Chakladar, who was an authority in Anthropology, Cultural and Religious History and other aspects of Indian studies, including Sanskrit and other Indian religious literature, had, during his retirement, the happy idea of bringing out in Bengali a complete edition of the entire Guru Grantha in the Bengali character and with Bengali translation and notes. It is a misfortune for the Bengali language and for the Bengali people that he could not live to complete the publication of this translation. Some of his relations have brought it out in two parts some portions of this projected work, at a time when this scholar of eighty-four years of age was incapacitated by loss of sight and other physical ailments. He could live to see the first part out, and the second part has subsequently been brought out.

The late Professor Haran Chandra Chakladar was by education and scholarship as well as by temperament fully competent to take up this great work. He devoted 40 years of his life to the study and preparation of the translation and commentary. The first volume which comes up to 109 pages gives the Japaji, the Rahirasa and the Sohila sections of the Guru Grantha. The Gurumukhi texts have been translated with very great care in the Bengali script, and a literal (and occasionally explanatory) translation follows the text, and finally there are some word-notes. The beautiful language of the translation makes he work very easy to read. The second volume which came out in 1959, gives the Sri-Raga section of the Guru Grantha. This has also been done in the same style. The printing and the general get-up of the books are admirable, and they invite the reader to read this great work. If the entire work, which Prof Chakladar had completed, can be brought out in this style, it will be a great achievement for Bengal. Bengali literature will be enriched by the translation of this very important repository of Indian religion and religious faith. A work like this should meet with the full approval and support from the Bengali-reading public, and the Government, whether of the State of West Bengal or of the Centre. A work of this kind merits to the fullest a proper subvention from the Government as well as from public institutions. The Sahitya Academy as well as the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs are helping the publication of similar projects

in translation, and the rendering of the Sikh Guru Grantha into Bengali certainly deserves Government patronage. Professor Chakladar did not leave the wherewithal for completing the work, and there is no private institution which can do it. As such, I would strongly recommend any representation made to the Government for completion of this work.

Calcutta Suniti Kumar Chatterji
29th August, 1961

Studies in Indian Archaeology. *By Dr W. F. Sutterheim. Koninklij Institut, Land En Volkenkunde, Translation Series. The Hauge-Martinus Nijhoff. 1956, pp. 173 (with a Preface by F. D. Bosch).*

The volume under review is the first number in the translation series of the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, The Hague. It contains a selection of some very important papers on Indonesian archaeology by the late Dr Sutterheim who is well known to students of archaeology in general and particularly to those who are interested in the archaeology of S. E. Asia. Dr Sutterheim was the Director of the Archaeological Survey in the Netherlands, and as such he had the best opportunity of gaining first-hand knowledge of the archaeological remains of Indonesia. He has to his credit a large number of original papars on Indonesian archaeology, a list of which has been also appended to this volume. A perusal of his works gives us ample testimony to his sound scholarship and critical acumen in different fields of archaeological study. But most of his papers are in Dutch, and as such they are not easily accessible to students in general who do not read that language. The Royal Institute has done a yeoman's service to the cause of archaeological study by publishing the English translation of some of the papers of Dr Sutterheim. The present compilation consists of five articles, of which the most important one is on Chandi Barabudur.

In the very beginning of chapter on Barabudur the author has explained the derivation, meaning and significance of the name. It has been contended that Chandi Barabudur originally belonged to the *Vajradhara* sect which was thoroughly committed to magical practices. All the erotical representations are to be associated with the fertility cult. Magical elements had also played a very important role even at the time of the construction of the temple.

This is testified to by numerous reliefs. Then, he has discussed the problems connected with the unfinished Buddha image which originally did not stand in its present position. The second article is named 'Some remarks Pre-Hinduistic Burial customs on Java', and the third one relating to 'A thousand years old profession in princely courts on Java' is highly interesting from the sociological point of view. He has particularly drawn our attention to the temple-reliefs and the presence of Brahmin hermits in one of such reliefs (Fig. II). But it is doubtful whether these bearded representations really stand for Brahman ascetics. On this particular scene we find the female figurines on the left and the males on the right. The author has also discussed the social position of the d e v a d a s i s. Here he has made a pointed reference to the practice of the d e v a d a s i dancing on a particular ocassion in the temple at Puri. The fourth article deals with 'An ancient Javanese Bhima cult'. In this paper the author has discussed the images of Bhima (?), which so long did not receive any serious consideration from archaeologists and art-critics. These representations have been differently ascribed but the author has recognized them as those of Bhima. No less than ten figures have been subjected to critical examination, and the author concludes that there was probably a Bhima cult on the mountain slopes of Java. But the identity of these images is not beyond dispute. In the last paper of the present volume, the author has discussed 'An important Hindu-Javanese drawing on copper' with inscription. Here, he has drawn our attention to an interesting parallelism between a feamale figure with child and a famous Ajanta painting. He is not, however, prepared to accept it as an absolutely Indian product, but Indian influence cannot be doubted. He has also discussed the inscription which contains an adoration to the Mother.

An examination of the Rama reliefs has led the author to say that 'India had constantly exerted its influence on the Archipelago via Gujerat with Ceylon as an intermediate station, long before the well-known influence of Islam' (p. 152). He further thinks that this influence radiated from the state of Harshawardhana. But we must not forget the contributions made by eastern countries like Bengal and Kalinga in this respect. The author has no doubt admitted it, but he thinks that the direct borrowings from these places took place at an earlier date. Here, we must not also forget to refer to

the most intimate friend relation existing between the Palas and the Sailendra dynasty as proved by the Nalanda Plate.

On the whole, the volume is an excellent production, and Dr Sutterheim should be given the unique credit of dealing with Indonesian archaeology in its sociological and ethnological settings. It is hardly possible to interpret archaeological remains without the aid of ethnology. In this respect, we are very much grateful to Dr Sutterheim for he has been able to present the Indonesian archaeological materials in their true perspective containing new ideas, thoughts and interpretations which differ basically from the previous traditional interpretations. It would indeed be profitable if we can study Indian archaeological materials after Dr Sutterheim.

The book contains a large number of beautiful illustrations. It would have been much more advantageous if the volume contained an index.

S. R. Das

A Short History of the Far East. *By Kennth Scott Latourettee. 3rd edition. The Macmillan Company, New York, (second printing), 1957. Pp. 754.*

The main purpose of the volume under review is to give an introduction to the contemporary history of the Far East in order to serve as the background for a proper understanding of the countries and peoples of the region. The author admits in the preface that the book is primarily intended to cater to Americans, and as such a large part of the book is devoted to the presentation of historical facts from the American standpoint. The author further claims that the book is an objective and dispassionate treatment of historical facts, and therefore this is not a propaganda work.

The story of the Far Eastern countries begins from the dawn of history, but a comparatively detailed treatment has been made of the history of the 19th century dealing more particularly with the changes brought about by contact with the West. The countries dealt with in this volume are India, Japan, China and smaller countries like Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, etc. The major part of the book is covered by the history of China and Japan.

The volume is divided into two sections, one dealing with the history of these countries before the impact of the West and

revolutions and the other with the history after westernisation. At the very outset the author has given us the geographical settings of the Far East, and in the second chapter he has dealt with the early history of India. While dealing with the geographical and racial background of India, the author has referred to the seven-fold divisions of the peoples of the India made by Risley in 1901 without taking into consideration the results of later ethnological investigations. His account of the Aryans is also based on the old traditional descriptions given by western scholars. Some of his observations on Indian history and culture are unfortunate. In page 67 the writes, 'It was in religion and philosophy, and especially in religion, rather than in government or even in art or literature that the Indian civilisation registered its most notable achievements.' This observation proves the author's lack of acquaintance with India's contributions in polity and arts. Then again he observes that all the major empires from 6th century A. D. were built by foreigners. This is far from being true. His treatment on Hinduism is not only scrappy but far from being accurate. He has nothing to write about India's achievements in sculpture and painting. The bibliography at the end of the chapter shows that the author mostly based his account on old secondary sources. This chapter does not on the whole show the author's wide acquaintance with the results of recent historical investigations.

The author has more particularly devoted himself to detailing the political history of the Far Eastern countries, and the cultural history has not been given proper emphasis ; this is, however, essential for a proper understanding of the peoples of this region. He has, however, referred to the fundamental question of the basic unity of the Orient and Occident. He does not admit that the Orient has any fundamental note of unity, while the Occident has it in its Graeco-Roman basis. Geographically and culturally, the Far East is an entity, and it is apart from the rest of Asia. There is hardly any justification for such a remark.

The treatment in the book is scientific. In each chapter the author begins with a discussion on geography of the country. To each chapter is again added a short bibliography for further study and reference. The book also contains a number of valuable maps which are very much helpful for a proper understanding of its contents.

S. R. Das

Lebanon in History : from the earliest to the present. *By Philip K. Hitti. London, Macmillan, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1957. Pp. 548.*

The book under review is a history of the country now known as Lebanese Republic which has an insignificant territorial extent but a significant record of achievements of her past. The author of the book who is a specialist in the study of the history of the countries of western Asia, has most successfully recorded the trials and tribulations through which this small country passed and also her achievements and contributions. The author has to his credit first-hand knowledge about this country and as such the book is well documented and the authenticity of its contents cannot be easily questioned.

The book is divided into five parts, each one dealing with a distinct historical phase. Part I describes the pre-history of Lebanon from the Palaeolithic Age up to the Chalcholithic period. Part II gives a glowing account of Lebabnon's relation with neighbouring ancient peoples like the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, etc., and in Chapter VIII a brief survey of the cultural achievements has been made. Part III describes her relation with the Greeks and the Romans with a pointed reference to Hellenization and Christianization of Lebanon. Chapter XX gives an interesting account of the Crusades. Part IV deals with Islamization and ends with the Ottoman ascendancy. Part V describes the Ottoman supremacy and the civil disturbances in the 19th century which ushered in a great awakening resulting from the impact with the West. The part played by Lebanon during the world wars and her final emergence as an independent republic have been described in the last two chapters.

Lebanon through the ages has been most magnificiently described, and the main purpose of the volume has been well served The book contains a number of beautiful illustrations, maps and a comprehensive index. The book should have contained a bibliography for those who want to know more about Lebanon and the neighbouring countries. On the whole, the book is an excellant production, and the author is to be congratulated for removing a long felt want of an authentic historical survey of Lebanon.

S. R. Das

Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts. *By S. C. Malik, M. S. University Archaelogy Series No. 4, 1959. Pp. IX+69 + Plates VIII + Figs. 20. Baroda. Rs. 10. 50 nP.*

In the author's own words, 'This monograph deals with the 'Middle Stone Ages' or Series II or the flake-blade-scraper industry and the microlithic industries' of the Bombay and Satara districts. Todd's section starts with a Lower Clay yielding crude choppers and a Lower Gravel yielding Abbevellian and Clactonian tools. Acheulian bifaces and some flake tools have come from its top. A flake-blade industry occurs on the top overlying Middle Clay. The Upper Clay is characterized by Upper Palaeolithic blade and burin industry (recalling the Aurignacian of Europe). Todd's 'flake-blade-scraper' industry and 'blade and burin' industry are described by Mr Malik as the 'Middle Stone Age' industry. The reviewer does not quite follow the logic of this terminology, as the blade and burin recall the Upper Palaeolithic. Godwin employed the term 'Middle Stone Age' in Africa to cover a technologically related group of cultures lying consistently between the Earlier and Later Stone Ages. One would therefore ask, what is the stratigraphic position of the so-called 'Middle Stone Age' industry within the Pilestocene ? It would have been better io retain Todd's nomenclature in the given sequence.

In fig. IV, No. 2 is a cleaver, not a handaxe as stated. In dealing with typology, the author has cited some figures in his text which could not be traced in the illustrations, as on p. 21, circular scraper ; fig. XI, 22, p. 22'; Scraper-cum-point or borer, fig X, 23, 25, ; p. 24, points, fig. XXVI, 45, 46 ; p. 25, end-scraper, fig. XX, 33, 35 ; and so on. Mr Malik is not quite sure about the typology he describes, for example he describes a burin in connection with typology (p. 23) but the same tool has been described as an end-scraper in the key to illustrations (p. 64) as fig. XXI, 34. There are several example where the writer gives contradictory designations in 'typology' and 'key to illustrations'.

In the stratigraphic sequence, he puts this industry as intervening between the Lower Palæolithic and the Microlithic and calls it 'Middle Stone Age', instead of the Upper Palaeolithic though showing typological similarity to the Upper Palæolithic.

In dealing with chronology he also used such terms as 'in between' and 'middle occurrence' which are rather vague. The author

has covered a number of pages with the summary of others' works in the Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada and Pravara valleys, but has not given us the correlations. Environment, geology and geography have been discussed in the first two chapters, but their relations with typology and chronology have not been interpreted in the chapters.

This monograph lacks coherence, reveals uncertain typology and vague chronology. The monograph however gives us useful information about the new sites in the Bombay and Satara Districts.

A. K. Ghosh

Recent Exploration in Hoshangabad. *By S. C. Malik. Reprinted from the Journal of the M. S. University of Boroda. Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1959. Pp 27-34+figs. 4.*

This paper deals with a short exploratory visit to Hoshangabad, M. P. to study and verify the well-known stone age sites. No doubt, a revision of De Terra's work has been a long-felt need. The author wishes for 'a fresh survey of the valley organised on the most scientific lines'; but he himself fails in his task. The tool collection is described as 'of the Series II or Middle Stone Age', but without auy reference to stratigraphical sequence. Even without trial excavation in the Adamgarh rock shelters, he confirms that 'the Microlithic peoples used these shelters for a considerable period of time'. He considers 'the blake-flade-scraper' industry as the macro-facies of the microlithic industry. All these are very vague and unscientific statements. The figures are drawn without reference to any scale.

A. K. Ghosh

Lowie's Selected Papers in Anthropology. *Edited by Cora Du Bois, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960. Pp. 510 XI,* one plate. *$10.*

Lowie's selected papers in Anthropology edited by Cora Du Bois is one of her most notable attempts to commemorate the genius that was Robert Lowie. Lowie was exceedingly critical of himself, but at the same time he was conscious of the contribution he had made to anthropology. The essays in this volume were largely selected by him.

When Lowie received the Viking Fund Medal in 1947, he thought the following were his original contributions to anthropology which perhaps justified the award.

(1) The Plains Indian Age Societies, 1961. *Proceedings of the American Museum of Natural History*, 11 : 955-984.

(2) Family and Sib, 1919, *American Anthropologist*, 21 : 18-40.

(3) A Note on Aesthetics, 1921, *American Anthropologist*, 23 : 170-4.17.

(4) *Primitive Religion*, 1924, New York, pp. 3-32.

(5) A Note on Relationship Terminologies, 1928, *American Anthropologist*, 30 : 263-267.

(6) *The Crow Indians*, 1935, New York. pp. 104-118.

(7) Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, 1942, *V. C.*. 40 : 1-28.

(8) A case of Bilingualism, 1945, *Word*, 1 : 249-259.

Out of these eight papers Du Bois has included five (2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th) in this anthology. The omission of his contribution on Primitive Religion makes a serious gap, although the editor has included many other papers selected with the help of A. L. Kroeber, Paul Radin and Leslie Spier.

Lowie's contribution was mainly in four spheres, namely, kinship and social organization ; folk literature, language and aesthetic ; ethnology's relation with other disciplines ; and theoretical constructs and criticism.

Lowie has himself written :

'My discussion of kinship terminologies was important in the sense that it ushered in a revival of interest in the topic from which most American students had been alienated by Morgan's evolutionary scheme. The subject had bored me ; but W. H. R. Rivers' *Kinship and Social Organisation* (1914) convinced me that here was a field in which rigorous formulation of problems was possible.' His work on Plains Indian military organizations constituted, however, according to him, his most important discovery. It was an exercise in theory which evoked praise from Boas and Goldenwiser.

In the second sphere, namely, literature, language, and aesthetics, Lowie's *Studies in Plains Indian Folklore* may be specifically noted. It not only records the aboriginal tales but indicates also the historical connections with reference to style, and the narrator's

creative process. His study of art (Crow Indian Art) was not original. It followed Boas, Wissler and Kroeber. But his 'Note on Aesthetics,' bears evidence of his skill in precise measurement of comparable designs among neighbouring tribes and reflects his understanding of psychology and the use of the comparative technique.

Lowie's study of religion has been greatly commented upon. His *Primitive Religion* was described by Goldenwiser as a study of the 'paraphernalia of religion'. Ogburn looked upon it as 'singularly defective in giving the reader any spirit of religion' and several others have made similar comments. It remains a fact however that Lowie's approach towards religion was objective, dispassionate and scientific. Looking at it as a whole, Lowie's position was always 'in the middle of the road.' He has himself written, 'I have, like Tylor and Boas, accepted both diffusion and independent development according to the evidence in particular cases. Much more than Boas I have maintained a faith —not in 'laws', indeed—but in the possibility of determining fruitful correlations, especially in the study of social structure.'

Readers are thankful to Professor Cora Du Bois for editing this volume and making the major works of Lowie accessible to students of Anthropology in general.

D. P. Sinha

Sociology To-day : Problems and Prospects. *Edited by Robert L. Merton, Leonard Broom & Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. New York, Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1960, Pp. XXXIV-624, $7·50 net.*

The book under review is symptomatic of the fluid state of sociology. It is in no way a text-book ; its sub-title expresses more accurately its scope.

The book is edited under the auspices of the American Sociological Society, by a team of experts in the field. Twenty, five chapters are due to as many specialists in their respective subjects ; and they cover a wide field. After an introduction and two chapters of a more general nature, the authors study problems in the sociology of institutions. This is followed by some sociological studies of the Person and the Group. The volme ends with 'Selected Applications of Sociology', such as the Sociology of Mental Illness, Deviant Behavior, etc.

The authors have naturally in mind conditions as they prevail in the U.S.A. ; but their information is wide and much of what they have to say is, of course, of universal application. Even from what is typically American, we can learn much ; for if there is one thing sociology teaches us, it is that in spite of such great diversity in the world's social conditions, man is much the same all over the world. T. E.

The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting. *By Aileen D. Ross, University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 1961.* $.7.50

The Hindu family has of late attracted a great deal of attention from Indian as well as foreign students of the Indian social system. No study of Indian society can be complete without an analysis of family, caste and village. While caste and village are already favourite subjects of sociologists, it is only recently that they have turned to the family. Srinivas' study of marriage and family in Mysore was the first major work on the subject. Kapadia's study of marriage and family in India threw further light on the subject. Karve's study of the Hindu kinship organization touched upon some aspects of joint family and interpersonal relations. The present work is based upon case studies of a large number of middle and upper class Hindu men and women in South India carried out with the assistance of a team of Indian interviewers.

The author of this study does not hold a brief for those who think that the joint family in India is breaking up under the stress of industrialization and westernization. The strains and problems which accompany break up of large family units are sought to be examined in detail. If industrialization continues at its present pace many more families will have to face similar problems.

The originality of the study lies in its attempt to classify some of the many changes in responsibility, authority and affection which affect family relationships when structural changes occur. In the joint family in India, the closest tie is between mother and son, next closest is between brother and sister. But the strongest affectional tie in the urban family is between husband and wife. Drastic changes in the intensity of the feeling of the son for his mother must take place when he transfers his affections from her to his wife and this may cause much strain. Similarly, changes in the authority of members over one another and in their sense

of responsibility towards one another may cause conflict until the new order is accepted and change in social values is complete.

An attempt has been made in this work to study the genesis and causes of the break-up of the large family. Increased pressure on land and heightened prospects of employment in towns led to large scale migration from the villages. In the case of middle and upper class, the earning member was accompanied by his wife and children. Due to a change in the ecological set-up, the structure of rights and duties and power and authority as it crumbled down. In due course the intensity of affection between relationships in the family and outside was deeply affected. Education of women and their employment in different occupations raised their ambitions and level of aspirations. They could no longer tolerate a subordinate status. This is reflected in the changing marriage patterns and the authority structure in the middle and upper class families studied in three generations of women.

Though the book is based on South Indian material, the findings are valid for families in North Indian towns as well. The processes at work are similar in both areas. It is, however, desirable that similar studies should be taken up in different culture areas of the country to find out the speed with which the joint family is breaking up and changes are coming in its wake. Separate studies should be made for urban and rural areas as conditions vary very much.

Sachchidananda

Nine Dayak Nights. *By W. R. Goddes. Oxford University Press* $.42.

The book is about the culture and the social life of a very interesting people of Borneo, namely, Land Dayaks.

The author who is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at Auckland University College, was commissioned to make a socio-economic study of Land Dayaks by the British Colonial Office under the Colonial Social Research Council. Under this assignment, he visited Sarawak in February 1949. During early November 1950 ; while he was in the field, a villager informed him that he would tell a very good story for $10. The man was Raseh by name—a leading medicine man of the village. The author accepted the

demand, the day was appointed and Raseh began his epic tale which took nine nights to relate. Hence the title of the book.

Within a brief compass, we are given a vivid picture of the work and play, the customs, the fears, hopes and beliefs, the legends, songs and humour of these people. We learn of their attitude to the jungle, to the communty, to work, to religion, to sex and marriage, to youth, age and death. The hero and tale, Kichapi, swaggers boldly through the story defying giants, rivals in love and well-established conventions alike. Through the medium of this story we are able enter into the life of the imagination of the people. The legend and the description of the society in the introduction are illuminating.

J. V. Francis

Understanding Human Society. *By Walter Goldschmidt, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960. Pages 1—247, $21. net.*

This book seeks to answer the fundamental question, namely. what are the factors which governs social evolution. Are there any general principles of existence which condition the life of all the people living under diverse culture ? In order to answer these the author considers the main approaches of anthropology—evolutionary, historical, sociological, psychological and eclectic. The fascinating illustrations of diverse cultures, in terms of different schools of anthropological thought not only create interest in the book but also provide a comprehensive understanding of human society.

K. Kerketta

Social Change. *By Ian Hogbin, London. C. A. Watta & Co. Ltd., 1958. Pp. ix-251, $.21. net.*

The methods employed in analyzing social change have been very well illustrated with examples from New Guinea, Papua and the Solomon Islands.

The author's own approach is through the analysis of social values, the sets of alternatives and prefenences that are current in any given society. After taking into consideration various current methods relating to social change and social continuity the author recommends this as possibly the best approach.

K. Kerketta

Bulletin of the Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara (M.P.)

This is the first bulletin of Chhindwara, Tribal Research Insitute, M.P. It contains four articles which are interesting. The first article which is the summary of the speech of Prof N. K. Bose is thought provoking. The second article by Dr U. R. Ehrenfels discusses the status of women in general by taking name equality or inferiority in name for women. The third article by B. K.Roy Burman is a 'Perspective of Tribal Welfare'. He provides models and discusses in the light of the Constitution of India the true meaning of integration of tribes. This is theoretically oriented approach and is thought provoking. The last article gives a descriptive account of Dhurwas of Baster.

K. Kerketta

Social Anthropology, *By D. F. Pocock, Newman History & Philosophy of Science Series 1961, Price—Five shillings net.*

The book deals with the historical development of social anthropology and presents the problem of objectivity and problem of comparison in a lucid manner. It will prove useful to the students of social anthropology.

K. Kerketta

Concise World History. *By Ben Finger, Jr. Philosophical Library, Inc. New York 16, N. Y.—Pp. 851, Price* $10-00.

This is remarkable achievement in scissors and paste. There is something in it to please everyone. But the author's laudable eirenic intentions result in a certain lack of unity. The books abound in sweeping generalised statements ; but since many of these are mutually contradictory, the overall impression in somewhat confusing.

For instance, in the Introduction we read : 'Fortunately, there are absolute values whereby we can measure our real improvement or deterioration'. But the whole body of the work is based on the assumtion that everything is relative and subject to 'evolution'. What in one age were regarded as 'abosolutes', and approved of, are liable to re-appear in later pages with the sinister label 'outworn dogmas' round their neck.

There is a great deal of information in the book, but of uneven value. Wheat and chaff are inextricably mixed, and there is a

rather unnecessarily high proportion of chaff. The author speaks approvingly of Walter Lippmann's *Public Philosophy*. But it seems probable that the only purpose that the work will serve will be as a quarry for those who wish to attack all that Lippmann meant by *The Public Philosophy*. But it seems probable that the work will serve as a quarry for those who wish to attack all that Lippmann meant by *The Public Philosophy*. Those in search of reliable information will seek it elsewhere.

L. D.

Social Research in East Pakistan : *Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications No. 5. Price Rs. 10.00. Edited by Pierre Bessaignet. Published by Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, Pakistan.*

This No. 5 of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications contains a number or papers of unequal length and value, grouped under three main headings : I. Projects ; II. Methods, and III. Books (reviewed).

Under 'Projects' we are given about a dozen articles, showing the results of pioneering efforts in sociological and anthropological research work. As Professor Pierre Bessaignet remarks, these are the first steps in sociological research in Pakistan. The various contributors exhibit diverse interests and different approaches, which are full of promise. Some, like Notes on Researches about Student Problems at the University of Dacca', and 'Research about Employment levels and the structure of the Labour force in East Pakistan, suppose considerable field work.

Part II. Methods describes briefly some problems of social survey in East Pakistan and some research schemes for student training. This is followed by more than a dozen book reviews, some of considerable length. The volume concludes with some documents relating to the Social Research Advisory Committee of the University of Dacca, and reports of the Third and the Fourth Indian Sociological Conferences.

The Editor, Pierre Bessaignet, is to be congratulated on getting out this volume. It should fulfil its purpose, sc. that of encouraging student interest in the problems of Sociology in Pakistan.

S. A. C.